# THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

*March 27, 1948*


## A SENSIBLE RELIEF

AN EDITORIAL

## Will Private Importing Improve?

J. R. Kaim

## The Military Move In

Hanson W. Baldwin

## Towards Democracy In China

J. K. Choy

## THE TRIESTE QUESTION

AN EDITORIAL


VOLUME 109 CNC$50,000 NUMBER 4

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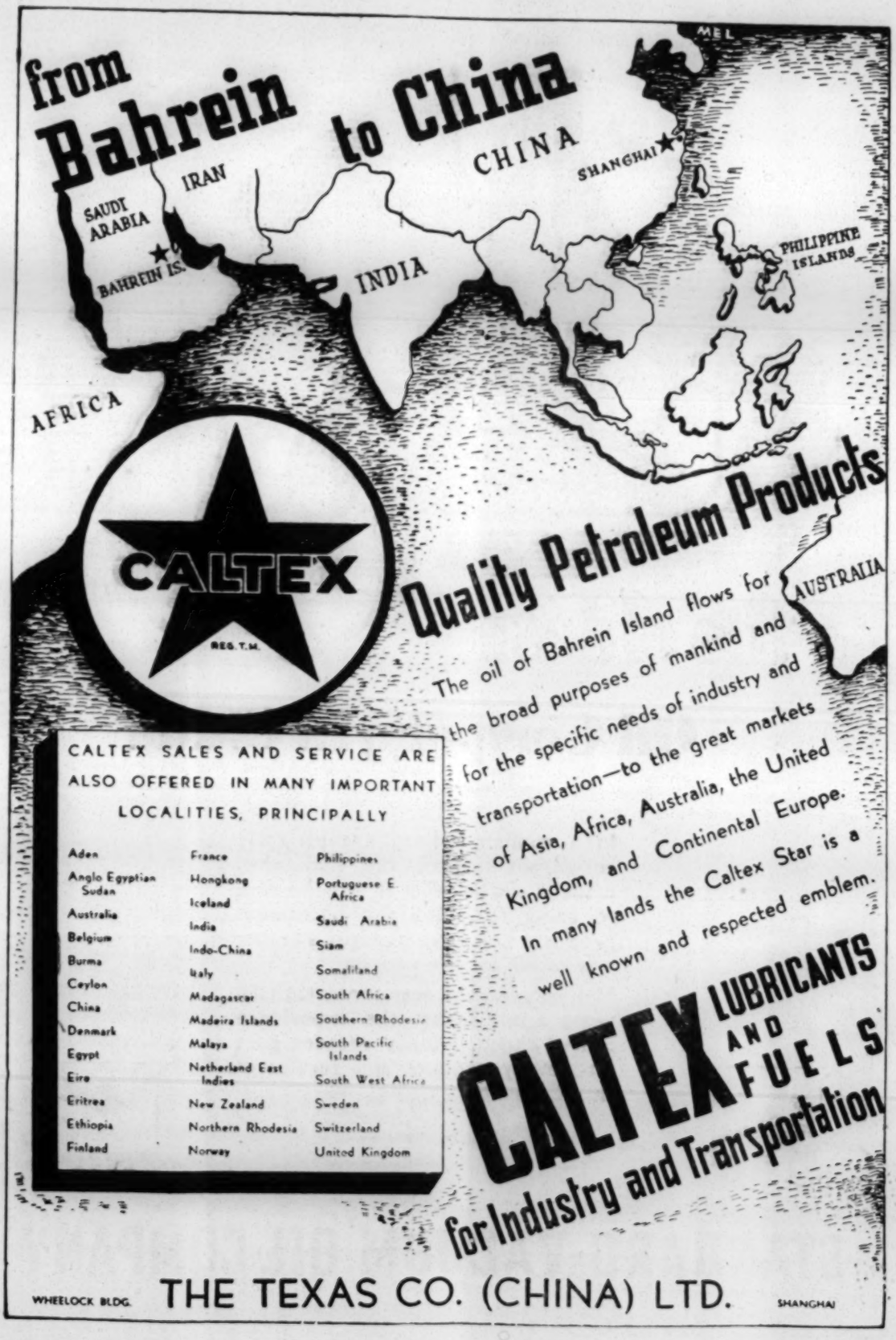
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# LETTERS From The People

**Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.**

## Time For Action

To The Editor:

During the past two months many grave events have occurred throughout the world; the death of Gandhi, the birth of a North Korean Government, the breakdown of prices on the US market, the reform movement in Czechoslovakia and the military collapse of the KMT in the Northeast. But to the ordinary Chinese, the rapid increase in commodity prices since the Lunar New Year is probably the most important of all calamities. While the American people have had the opportunity to enjoy a slight decrease in food prices, we are faced with ever-rising costs which make it difficult for us to survive.

The second most serious concern to the Chinese is the revival of Japan. At a time when the Chinese are still recovering from the wounds inflicted on them by the Japanese devils, Japan, with America's help, is quickly resurging as a powerful nation. Although Mr. Cabot has called such opinions "misconceptions," we Chinese remember full well that up until Pearl Harbor was attacked, the US was selling steel and oil to our opponent and thus helping it wage an aggressive and ruthless war on this soil.

We are fully in agreement with the concept of just cooperation with our former enemies. But the Japanese may be surprised to find another good friend in Asia who wishes to help the former in its revival. I refer to the Chinese KMT Government. From the recent utterances of General Chu Shih-ming, head of the Chinese delegation to Japan, and our Vice President Sun Fo's answers to a correspondent's questions, we wonder if the sacred and bloody eight years' fight was in vain.

The KMT intends to use all its efforts in fighting the "Bandit Suppression Campaign" and seems to have forgotten everything but its own interests. The opinions in the press—including the *Review's* "Watch the Japs" series—and the protests of the people are being ignored. Perhaps the time is not too far distant when the KMT and Japan will sign an Anti-Cominform Pact, as has been advocated recently.

For us lao pai hsing the present time is not one for clamoring but for action. We profoundly believe that no matter how much we suffer under oppression by feudal minded authorities the will of the masses will eventually triumph.

E. H. Y.

Hangchow,
March 6, 1948.

## Where Shall We Go?

To The Editor:

I am a reader of your *Review* and a senior student in a senior middle school. Next term I shall enter college, but it is said that all the Youth Corps members will be admitted to universities without examination. If it is true, then all the universities in this country will be full of the Youth Corps, and where shall the others of us go to study.

C.S.C.

Shangyao, Kiangsi,
March 12, 1948.


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**Price per copy: CNC$50,000**

**All mail rates are subject to change in accordance with postal changes.**

**Cable Address: "Reviewing" Shanghai** **Telephone: 14772**

PUBLISHED AT 160 CHUNG CHENG ROAD (EASTERN), SHANGHAI (O), CHINA, BY MILLARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, U.S.A. REGISTERED AT THE CHINESE POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER FOR TRANSMISSION WITH SPECIAL MARKS PRIVILEGES IN CHINA.

Contents of previous issues of The China Weekly Review may be found in the "International Index of Periodicals," copies of which are on file in most standard libraries.


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## What To Do?

To The Editor:

Mr. Hsieh Ching-an, in his article, "Is Partition Feasible?" in the February 14 issue of the *Review* presented five sensible reasons proving that it is not suitable for China to be partitioned into two separate states, one to be dominated by the Nationalists and the other by the Chinese Communists. And he concluded, "United, we stand; divided, we fall." By what he said, he seems to be quite reasonable and I believe he is a kind and learned Chinese patriot. But I feel it is better for China to be divided for a while to give each a chance to try its best to improve its own area, as our Northern and Southern Dynasties did during 500-600 A.D. But as Mr. Hsieh said, "the ambitious authorities of one side will attempt to extend their influence beyond their own boundaries and into the other side." I think it is all right if expansion is made by peaceful methods instead of forceful ones.

China's situation today is at its worst. Not only commerce, industry and agriculture are broken down, but also morals, law and education are neglected. The words of many veteran members of the KMT, such as Wu Chih-hwei, Chang Ching-kiang and Li Shih-tseng are not heeded. The CP and the KMT care nothing for the people but for political power. They both are a plague to the Chinese people, and neither is fit to rule China.

But what shall we do if China is neither fit to be partitioned nor suitable to be ruled by either of the two parties?

WANG TIEN-PEI.

Chungking, Szechuen,
March 1, 1948.

## Reader's Opinion

To The Editor:

As an ardent reader of the *Review*, I like to give you my opinion of it. The columns, "Letters from the People," "Editorial Paragraphs" and "The *Review's* English Lesson" are most attractive to me, for many expressions in them are very interesting. I am also very interested in "Who's Who in China," "What US Papers Say" and


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"What Chinese Papers Say." I do not read very much of the "Special Articles," for they take too much time, though some of them are very valuable. As a whole, I think that your editorial policy is independent and just and that your magazine is one of the best in China.

J.K.C.

Foochow, Fukien,
March 10, 1948.

## Benefactor Needed

To The Editor:

Your long-famed *Review* is the only English paper I like to read not merely because of its far-sighted and righteous editorials, but also because of the *Review's* English Lessons, which, I am sure, have benefited your Chinese readers interested in studying English. I have, therefore, been intending to buy the *Review* regularly, or to be a formal subscriber to it as soon as my financial condition becomes a little better, but I feel heartbroken and humiliated to say that the longer I wait for better times the poorer I become. It is indeed a great shame and pity for a Chinese—a minor civic servant as I am—to complain of poverty.

But I believe the bleak and confusing situation facing China is quite well-known to the Americans who are continuing to give assistance to such a war-stricken country which may soon collapse if the Civil War is not ended right away. "Fighting is for the benefit of the people" is the old sweet-voiced slogan of the war mongers. Thanks to this attractive term, the law-abiding Chinese lao pai hsing is now on the way to starvation in both the KMT and the so-called emancipated areas.

Finally, I hope some of your readers will like to help me to get a free subscription to your *Review* for a certain period of time; I will try to reciprocate. My address: 5-a Chi Chao Hutung, Pei Hsiao Chieh, Inside Ch'ao Yang Men, Peiping.

T. Y. CHAN.

Peiping,
March 12, 1948.

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## Harebrained Judge

To The Editor:

I think that you can forego your column, "What Chinese Papers Say," for they are the "manipulated" Chinese public opinions and therefore, may mislead the foreign readers, as well as the Washington Administration, which may have been feeding on what you have so provided. Your "US Magazine Roundup" is particularly enlightening and I enjoyed the article, "Who Holds China's Future," which got the inside dope about China all right but forgot that "Man proposes and God disposes."

Your editorial, "Serious Charge" in the March 6 issue of the *Review* should have opened Dr. Sun Fo's eyes about the open secret that Formosa is China's "'Paradise Lost" but not "Love's Labor Lost." This is despite the fact that China has made so many left-handed efforts to kill the "Goose that lays golden eggs" but tries to claim otherwise. It is up to Dr. Sun Fo to think why and how only foreigners and the "Iron Mosquito Paper" in Shanghai have the nerve to uncover the actual truth on the administration in Formosa. As to whether or not the notorious Chen Yi has made a mess of his Fukien governorship and has killed 5,000 Formosans, let God and the living portion of the victims render judgment.

Your editorial, "Confusion Abounding" in the *Review*, February 28, 1948, puzzled me not a little because I understood Marshall's policy for China differently. I thought that he is the lone man in Washington consistently opposing the indiscriminate American aid to the KMT Government in China. I believe that Marshall's righteous stand will eventually prevail. I am a Chinese Missourian though. In this case I would rather be a harebrained judge of Marshall's policy toward China.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
March 12, 1948.

## Suggests Club

To The Editor:

On behalf of those, like myself, who cannot afford to buy the *Review* constantly, I suggest organizing an "Itinerate Reading Club." Each member would be required in turn to buy a copy of the new issue and pass it around after he has finished reading it. Besides the *Review*, other magazines and books could be included too.

Anyone who is interested in my proposal may write to me. My address:

無錫教育學院

FEI LIANG.

Wusih, Kiangsu,
March 16, 1948.

## Gratitude

To The Editor:

I think you are really a teacher to young people as you have opened many roads to them. On behalf of youth, I give you my whole-hearted best wishes for your *Review*. The following letter is to an American friend who helped me to continue my subscription to your *Review*. I hope you will publish it in your paper.

Dear Sir,

I do not know how to express my gratitude to you for your kindness in resuming my subscription to the *Review*. I am a poor student, eager to learn. It is of no use, however, to complain of poverty, as many youths in China are in the same circumstances as I am, some even worse than I. The only way for us to fight against our bad circumstances is to get a better life.

Your gift is a great encouragement to me and I will try my best to deserve your kindness.

CHANG HUAI-YU.

Chungking, Szechuen,
March 9, 1948.

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## Pen Friends Found

To The Editor:

Below is a letter to Mr. Howe Soochye, the writer of "Pen Friends Wanted" in the January 24 issue of the *Review*. We hope you will publish it in your paper, for it is not a letter to Mr. Howe alone, but to all youngsters who wish to know something about the education in Chungking.

Dear Mr. Howe,

We are interested in your proposal to the *Review* and ready to be your penfriends. We are two senior students at the Ching Hwa middle school in Chungking, both 19 years old. We firmly hate all sorts of special privileges and love individual freedom for which we want to strive.

In Chungking, there are many middle schools, but very few of them are really good. Most administrative members in these schools pay more attention to lining their pockets than anything else, while some students seldom, if ever, attend classes. Instead, they often sit around in tea houses and smoke or even sleep all day. Their aim to enter school is none other than to get a diploma.

However, this is not the case in our school. Our capable principal conducts his school conscientiously, though it is greatly pressed by lack of funds. Large buildings have been constructed, and necessary equipment installed. Teachers work earnestly and always get the students' papers corrected on time. In return, the students study hard and some even go so far as to sit up late in the evening reading. As the result, there is practically no cheating. The students are also trained to have good manners and are very polite to one another.

Of course, our school has also many faults which we will tell you about in our next letter. We hope in return you will tell us something about your school and education in Singapore.

CHANG HUAI-YU.
GOBALE GAU.

Chungking,
March 10, 1948.

## Chinese Education

To The Editor:

Education in China is now facing a fatal crisis. Thousands of boys and girls of school age cannot afford to receive education; while a great number of students are forced to quit school under the charge of being 'suspicious bandits.' For example, recently when students in Peiping organized a relief association to help the needy ones, the local authorities announced that the organization was unlawful and intended to disturb the security of the city. When Mr. Yen, an associate professor of the National Nankai University, committed suicide with D.D.T., the students of this university showed their sympathy by means of contribution and fasting. Then again the local authorities thought the students' act illegal and that the 'bandits' were taking advantage of this case to find fault with the government.

In Peiping, even the primary school students are on the verge of being deprived of education. The private school tuition fee is too high for them, while public schools open only to those whose parents know how to bribe the school masters. The formal entrance examination is in name only and no longer means anything.

T.L.

Peiping,
March 10, 1948.


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## Narrow Escape

To The Editor:

General Liu Mao-en, Governor of Honan, landed at Chengchow at five p.m. on February 1, after holding the Four Provinces Bandit-Suppression Conference at Hsuchow. After he got down from the airplane, he immediately took a car and started for the city. Accidentally several airmen were in another car just ahead that of the Governor. When the two cars approached the sentry-line, a soldier on duty shouted at them, "Stop for inspection."

The pilots in the first car, however, did not pay attention to the shouting and drove on. They considered it a losing face business for one to obey regulations and laws in the KMT bureaucratic fashion—rules and punishment are only for the common people, not for the powerful. Moreover, they deemed themselves as fliers much above the soldiers on land.

"Stop, or I will fire!" shouted the sentry again who was as rigorous as he was dutiful.

"Who are you? Are you qualified?" returned the airmen and drove their car faster. They further felt very angry at the continual shouting and started to shoot.

The soldier on duty was so mad that he called all of his colleagues out of the sentry-box and the station. They rushed forward to encircle the motors and gunfire was exchanged. The soldiers thought that the next motor must have in it an air officer and so took it as their main target. At this critical moment, General Liu jumped out, holding up his hands and shouting at the top of his voice, "I am Governor Liu, please, both sides, stop firing."

But for his jumping out exactly in time, the Governor would have become a martyr in a car rather than in the field. Isn't it a narrow escape?

THE ACTS.

Kaifeng, Honan,
March 8, 1948.

## World Peace

To The Editor:

It is a great tragedy in the history of human beings that the imperialistic powers pay their attention to conquering other nations rather than to the welfare of the people. The result will be the perishing of all human beings.

But it is not impossible to avert such a catastrophe if the people of the world will be kind and friendly to one another, renew the meaning of liberty and strengthen their forces against the militarists, invaders and warmongers.

We of this generation will be masters of the world of tomorrow; we have the responsibility to free the people from the present dark, miserable situation and build up a better world for them. Let us walk ahead and hold high the torch of freedom so world peace will be attained.

L.F.G.

Tientsin, Hopeh,
March 5, 1948.

## Discouraged

To The Editor:

Recently a letter from Loyang reported to me that all the people there are fleeing with their families because of the heavy taxes and illegal oppression and imprisonment by military organs and secret police.

Actually such a situation is not limited to Loyang; all China is on the verge of collapse. Nominally, China is on her way to democracy. As it is, however, she is really going an opposite direction: bribery in broad daylight, inefficiency, squeezing and luxurious living by the high officials and rich people while the poor people are heavily taxed, illegally arrested and starved to death.

Though I am a member of the KMT, I feel the people will be liquidated by the party's corrupt officials before China can be taken by the Communists.

History has repeatly illustrated that no dynasty in the past has firmly existed without paying attention to the people's sufferings. People can never be ruled successfully with an iron rod, as such a policy only helps to hasten the ruin of the country.

In short, I am very discouraged by the present Chinese status quo.

L.K.

Hsuchow, Kiangsu,
March 6, 1948.

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**Vol. 109 Shanghai, Saturday, March 27, 1948 No. 4**

## Broadening The Government

MUCH confusion has been caused by two statements recently issued by President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall on the broadening of the base of the Chinese Government. Secretary Marshall told a press conference on March 10, that the United States still stands on its recommendation that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek should broaden his government. When asked specifically whether broadening the base of the Chinese Government meant that he favored the inclusion of the Chinese Communists, he replied that the Communists were now in open rebellion against the Government and that the determination of whether the Communists should be included was for the Chinese Government to decide, not for the United States to dictate.

In less than 24 hours, President Truman, at a press conference, reaffirmed United States policy toward China as outlined in his statement of December 15, 1945, which expressed the belief of the United States Government that "peace, unity and democratic reform in China will be furthered if the basis of the Chinese Government is broadened to include other political elements." However, the President stated emphatically that this policy did not mean that the Chinese Communists should be included, pointing out with special stress that the United States did not want the Communists in the Chinese Government or in any other government.

In order to drive his point much farther, the President insisted that Secretary of State Marshall had never recommended inclusion of Communist elements in the proposed broadened Chinese Government. He further emphasized that he did not know whether it had ever been the policy of the United States to favor the inclusion of the Communists in the Chinese Government.

Asked if he could amplify the purpose of General Marshall's mission to China in 1946, the President replied that it was an endeavor to help Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's government to meet a situation with which it was confronted.

IT will be interesting to recall that when asked at a press conference on March 18, 1946, whether his suggestion for China's national unification meant the inclusion of the Communists in the coalition government, President Truman answered in the affirmative. On January 7, 1947, Secretary of State Marshall in his report on China expressed the hope that during the interim period of reorganization of the Chinese Government "the door will remain open for the Communists or other groups to participate if they see fit to assume their share of responsibility for the future of China."

In the light of recorded history, President Truman's flat denial of previous United States intentions and efforts to patch up the differences between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists by bringing the latter into the fold of the Chinese Government is somewhat confusing. As the *Cincinnati* (Ohio) *Times-Star* put it, "Reporters who emerged from President Truman's press conference on March 11 deserved a rest cure. .... Never had any group of White House newsmen been exposed to such a display of confusing double talk on American foreign policy.... Evidently Mr. Truman was not reading a newspaper for 13 months after December, 1945, during General Marshall's mission to China for the express purpose of encouraging a coalition of Communist and Kuomintang leaders in Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's government."

It seems to us that the President's statement admits of two interpretations. Either he was trying to perform a volte-face by changing his past policy of closing a deal with the Communists to his present policy of fighting Communism everywhere in the world. Or he was letting the cat out of the bag, openly telling the world that all previous American talk about helping China terminate her civil strife by bringing about Kuomintang-Communist cooperation in the Government was just so much empty talk. In either case, the President's prestige stands to suffer.

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THAT the broadening of the base of the Chinese Government is both desirable and necessary nobody would deny. But in view of the bitter experience of the past we are inclined to think that a fundamental change in Government policy is more urgent and more useful than a broadening of the Government's base. During the past few years we have witnessed several shake-ups in the Nanking Administration. The most recent reshuffle took place last April when a group of "non-partisan liberals" and leaders of the Young China Party and of the Democratic Socialist Party joined the new Government.

It is almost a year since the establishment of the three-party coalition government. The record of this government is known to the public. The situation in this country is now worse than it was a year ago.

Unless there is a drastic change in Government policy and unless the various ministries and government agencies are given real power to do things instead of serving as yes-men, taking orders from the "Supreme Leader," we don't think in-

clusion of more "American-educated liberals" in the Government as suggested by President Truman will help much.

## A Sensible Relief Program

FOR years Americans have been involved, both as a nation and as individuals, in sending various kinds of relief to China. Until recent years the relief was largely of a private nature and followed the usual man-made and natural catastrophies which seem to afflict China periodically.

The first major deviation came with UNRRA, a United Nations sponsored agency organized to provide both relief and rehabilitation. The moving spirit behind this agency was the United States which supplied most of the money. While it is our belief that the UNRRA program was largely a failure in that it did not do what it was supposed to, it did provide some excellent experience. Many of the lessons learned, it appears, are being applied by the China Relief Mission in its present aid program which totals nearly US$50,000,000.

Perhaps the most important lesson learned from UNRRA was that China actually has a limited ability to absorb supplies. This is borne out by the spectacle—still present—of machinery and other goods rotting on the ground at various ports of entry. China, from the point of view of internal transportation facilities, was unable to handle so much material in such a short period.

The Chinese Government simply could not afford the UNRRA program. It did not have the financial resources to distribute the supplies; it did not have sufficient number of trained and reliable men to handle the distribution. This is not meant to be an unkind criticism of the Government, but it is a fact that Nanking was unable to provide the funds for removing the supplies from the ports of entry and also was unable to secure enough competent personnel to organize and supervise the work. The corruption involved, which has been reported ad nauseum, seems to us to have been a natural consequence —as it usually is in China—of a lack of money and good men, the latter factor largely stemming from the first.

The present program may well hurdle the worst obstacles which UNRRA failed to overcome. US$50,000,000 is a much smaller sum and will provide, over a period of four months, small quantities of supplies which the Chinese will be capable of handling administratively and financially. Further, by restricting this program to a few of the larger cities of China, which by comparison with the countryside and the interior are much farther along the road from feudalism, the distribution is likely to be reasonably efficient.

A consequence of concentrating upon the cities in the areas which are easily reached will be to relieve the countryside of some of the burden of feeding the huge centers of population in such places as Shanghai, Canton, Nanking, Peiping and Tientsin. The plan, as we understand it, calls for the use of monies received from the sale of foodstuffs in other relief activities. For instance, money obtained from the sale of rationed rice may be shipped to Szechuen to buy surplus rice for shipment to shortage areas down river. Other funds raised locally may go for medical or other aid to indigent sections of the population.

Of course the plan has the disadvantage inherent in all aid programs which concentrate upon relief measures. There is little likelihood that those who are saved from starvation this year, or those who are saved from beggary this year will not have to be saved again next year. This will always be the case until the day when China can "recover" from the effects of external and internal wars.

Another point which must be considered is the political aspect of any relief measure. Any relief to Chinese living in areas under the control of the Central Government in fact becomes economic support of that regime. In these days of "total war" the mere maintenance of commercial and political relations with one side in a civil war constitutes aid, so relief, although directed entirely toward civilian consumers, is still aid. Every Chinese saved from starvation by American money removes just that much burden from the Central Government. The same is true of the work of the many voluntary agencies operating in Shanghai and other cities. Every glass of milk given to a factory worker's undernourished child actually is a form of aid to Nanking in its struggle with the Communists.

We mention this point only in passing since there is now no doubt about where the American Government's sympathies lie and there is also no doubt but what the American Government is prepared to give a considerable amount of direct support—possibly even of a military nature—to the Central Government. However, we think that it is important that this side of the relief picture should be realized. We are not prepared to say what is right and what is wrong. Too many considerations are involved. For instance, how could a humane person who was fundamentally opposed to a regime, be it either the Central Government, the Chinese Communists or even one of the contending factions in Greece, deny basic food relief to starving children on any side?

It is our opinion that the China Relief Mission has begun well. It is not a large organization, in comparison with UNRRA, and the effects it may have will assuredly be limited and of short duration. However, percentagewise, its effectiveness may surpass that of any previous relief program in this country.

## Too Many Generals

IN this issue we are reprinting "The Military Move In," an article by Hanson W. Baldwin in *Harper's Magazine*. We believe this to be one of the most significant articles to appear in an American magazine in some time and, therefore, with permission from the publishers, are reproducing it in full. We recommend it without reservation to those who are interested in America and what makes it like it is. Mr. Baldwin answers a lot of questions many of us have asked about US government aims and attitudes recently.

For many years he has been military analyst for the *New York Times* and is a frequent writer on military topics and undoubtedly is extremely well qualified to deal with the subject of military "infiltration" into the civilian government. The remarks of a man of Mr. Baldwin's stature cannot easily be turned aside with a shrug of the shoulders, nor can his views be disparaged by calling him a "Communist," or "Fellow Traveler." His political views are too well-known. In fact, he states in the article that he is a supporter of both the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Here certainly is no Communist, nor leftist sympathizer, but an independent writer who knows what he is talking about.

Mr. Baldwin's article, which begins on page 104, we feel, will be instructive to all, especially to all Americans for whom it should be "required reading."

## International Trade

THE main factor in international trade today is, actually, the attitude of the United States. America came out of the past war with nearly half of the industrial production of the entire world. In addition she emerged as the largest single potential exporter and importer in the world. Obviously then, the attitude of the American people—as reflected by the US Government—toward world trade is of primary importance.

While it is frequently somewhat difficult to ascertain just what America's attitude is toward world trade, because of frequent minor shifts and changes due to pressures of foreign and domestic political policy, it is possible to determine what US policy is on a broad, general basis. During the years when the United States was a junior member of the world community, several different doctrines—as a result of varying stages of commercial and industrial development—were enunciated. On the whole, though, the US has consistently worked toward the enlargement of international trade. Secretary of State Hay's "Open Door Policy" for China was primarily designed to prevent foreign spheres of interest from developing in this country which would have resulted in the closing of areas to US and other trade.

For many years, a policy of high protective tariffs created a paradox in US trade thinking. Before the advent of Secretary Hull and his reciprocal trade agreements policy, the US was in the position of desiring all world markets to be thrown open to American goods while keeping the home market tightly closed to foreign products. Hull reasoned, and quite correctly, that the US could not expect to receive trade concessions abroad unless she were willing to grant similar ones at home. Through his reciprocal agreements, which he gradually signed with several nations, the US moved toward an announced goal of making international trade more free than it had been for many years.

The logical outcome of this trend was the calling of world trade conferences, first in Geneva, Switzerland, and later at Habana, Cuba. In addition to an attempt to put the principle of reciprocity on an international basis, instead of confining it to a series of treaties signed between the US and individual nations, the US sought to break down various other barriers to the free flow of goods between all countries, such as the prewar cartel arrangements. The US has at last gone on record officially as favoring a state of near free trade, with only the barest possible regulations restricting the international movement of goods.

During the six months of discussion at Geneva, when the representatives of 23 nations gathered in more than 1,000 formal meetings, the US proposed limitation of tariff barriers, preferences, quotas, internal controls, state trading and subsidies. In addition to active participation in these two world conferences, the result of which is the International Trade Organization, the United States has been pushing the signing of treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation with various other nations, such as China.

In the financial field, the US also is attempting to create a system by which trade will be expedited. The International Monetary Fund, when functioning properly, will greatly reduce the monetary hazards which limit the free flow of commodities.

Of particular interest is that the US Government recognizes that agreement among governments not to engage in restrictive practices, such as trade subsidy, certain forms of state trading, etc. is not enough. Private restrictive agreements, such as the cartel arrangements which the Germans fostered before the war also must go. Largely at the instigation of the American delegation, the Geneva conference wrote a section for the proposed International Trade Organization charter which pledged member nations to eliminate, as far as possible, restrictive business practices which encourage international monopolies and cartels.

It is encouraging to note that at present the US Department of Justice has suits pending against several American corporations charged with just such practices. While these federal suits receive but scant attention in the press today, the Administration in Washington is proceeding with as much "trust busting" activity as is possible in the face of opposition from the Republican dominated Congress.

"TRUMAN IS PUSHING US RIGHT INTO CIVIL WAR II"

IN pushing ahead with its plans for as few trade restrictions as possible, the US negotiators also kept before them the realization that America was in a favored position and that, desirable as some steps might be, it was at present impossible for many countries which are struggling against postwar dislocations to remove all the trade hindrances which the US can and desires to remove. Complete reciprocity would mean disaster to some nations.

For nations such as China there are several qualifying clauses in the ITO charter which will allow temporary retention of restrictive regulations. This brings up a very controversial point. China, one of the Big Five, is considered not only a sovereign nation but one of the main countries of the world. She sits at international conferences as a privileged member because of her size and position. In fact, though, civil war and a decaying economy prevent her from *actually* being one of the leading countries of the world. Both politically and economically her course in international affairs is instable and often far from predictable since it frequently becomes one of expediency.

The US Government allows for this and, in mapping plans for future reciprocal world relationships, agrees to clauses which will allow China and other nations in similar straits to have a period of time before implementing the decisions all agree are desirable. Individual Americans dealing with China, though, are often piqued by what seems to them the "easy way" in which China is allowed to make agreements and then "not live up to them." In our opinion, the American Government is taking a realistic view and the only one possible at the present. If it followed a hard and fast line of exact reciprocity, it probably could not get the governments of China and several other countries to even agree in principal to the reduction of international trade barriers.

If one takes the long range view—leaving out day to day twists resulting from political differences and machinations, the US has come a long way in its thinking about the rest of the world and the interdependency of each nation upon trade and commerce with its neighbors. From a position of almost complete isolation, it moved to an unrealistic one of desiring free markets for American goods abroad, while adhering to a policy of restriction against foreign goods at home. The present position not only advocates reciprocity, but also envisages the granting of a slight advantage here and there. It is a long step forward and, providing that politics and conflicting ideologies do not upset the world's apple cart, we may expect the future commercial relations between nations to be based on a much sounder foundation than ever before.

## The Trieste Question

WHATEVER the reasons, be they ever so sound, behind the move by the United States, Britain and France to return the Free City of Trieste to Italian control, one cannot escape the suspicion that this step was dictated at this particular time by the approaching Italian elections.

In our opinion the valid motives behind the move have been placed in jeopardy by the unfortunate timing of the announcement. It is impossible to defend ourselves from the charge that we are attempting to influence the Italian elections, scheduled for April 18, less than a month away. The move may turn out to be a success, but it is nevertheless an expedient one which certainly will not look well in the history books. It brings no credit to American, British or French diplomacy, unless, of course, one takes the Machiavellian view.

Because of the argument over this city and the recognized justice of allowing the Balkans an outlet to the sea at this point, the Allies agreed to a free city status for Trieste. Fought over for many years, Trieste has long been a bone of contention. At present it may be said to be an Italian city because of the large Italian population. The free city idea was itself a compromise, recognizing both Italian and Yugoslavian claims.

Since the establishment of this arrangement following the end of the war, the Allies have been in complete disagreement. So far they have not been able even to agree upon a governor. According to charges made by the British, French and Americans, the Yugoslavian-occupied zone of the city for all practical purposes has been turned into a Yugoslavian city. This, they maintain, is not in accord with the spirit of the agreement. Because of this, and possibly other valid but unannounced reasons, the three aforementioned countries have declared that the city should be returned to Italy. Unless Washington, London and Paris have a great deal more information as to what the Yugoslavs have been up to than they have seen fit to tell us, it hardly seems that they are justified in making such a drastic proposal, which any sane man realizes full well cannot be implemented without a display of force yet to be seen in this postwar world. The Yugoslav Government simply cannot knuckle under and agree to this suggestion without a crippling loss of face both at home and abroad.

There is, of course, the possibility that the masterminds not only do not expect Yugoslavia to agree, but also do not expect to secure compliance with their suggestion. Perhaps they are engaging in the long favored Chinese pastime of "bargaining," that is, demanding several times as much as they really expect to get. It is possible that they feel, by asking for such a sweeping concession, they will get the Yugoslavs to improve administration in their zone and finally get some agreement between the various powers as to the choice of a governor.

The thing that makes us most suspicious of the complete purity of our motives, however, is the timing of the announcement. It is unthinkable that Marshall, who was one of the three foreign ministers involved, did not realize the effect the proposal would have in Italy. It is also impossible to believe that Marshall, realizing this, was not adverse to such a reaction. For the past several weeks the United States has been

exploring all possible avenues which might lead to a new method of influencing the Italian elections. We have promised the Italians economic aid if they repudiate the Communists in the April 18 elections. We have threatened them with the prospect of no aid if they disobey our wishes. Further, employing family ties, we have suggested to Italian-Americans that they write to their parents and other relatives back in Italy urging them to vote anti-communist. We have also, through the US Department of Justice, warned the Italians that no communists are eligible for admission to the US as immigrants. (This is an important thing for a country such as Italy from which thousands upon thousands of immigrants have come and from which many more thousands may come in the future).

Arriving as it does in the form of a climax to the American campaign to influence the Italian elections, an objective observer who has—as we have—a great many doubts about the honest and legality of communist activities in many countries, cannot but assume that we are operating on the same level as the communists. If we behave in this fashion, it seems to us, we will put ourselves in a very infirm position from which to challenge communist coups in places like Czechoslovakia.

There is naturally the old argument that if one is fighting an unprincipled enemy, one must be unprincipled. This, however, is a false doctrine and, we believe, will not stand examination. One may remain at a temporary disadvantage by refusing to stoop to low levels of activity, but in the end public opinion will justify such a stand. If one accepts such a theory, one must also accept the fact that sooner or later you become just like your "unprincipled" enemy whose very "unprincipledness" is what you are fighting. Carrying such an argument to the extreme, one could justify the establishment of secret police, thought control, etc. in America as long as we are actively opposed to a state which employs such means of public control.

We are sorry to say that we think our actions in the case of Trieste are open to question. It may well be, though, that Marshall, Bevin and Bidault have information which we have not. If so, we think they should certainly release it to the public now. This is an urgent matter in view of the fact that already from the US it is being reported that we shall shortly recommend the restoration to Italy of her prewar colonies. It is absolutely unthinkable that we would even seriously discuss such a move and now is the time to deny it. We may well desire that the Italian electorate repudiate the communists at the polls, but we do not have to champion the cause of a recent enemy, nor do we have to make a crude appeal to Italian nationalism—which is something we would like to see lessened in Italy and all other nations as well.

## Man Bites Dog

THE UNITED Nations Security Council is studying the Chinese plan for settling the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir.—*China Press.*

## 25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

March 24, 1923.

### Twenty-second Demand?

The Peking newspapers on March 14 printed a dispatch supplied by the Japanese *Asiatic News Agency* to the effect that the Japanese government had again lodged a protest with the Chinese government against the construction of wireless stations in China by American interests. The American stations referred to are those being constructed by the Federal Telegraph Company for the Chinese government and when completed are to be the property of the Chinese government administered by the Ministry of Communications. It is not known whether the Chinese authorities are paying any attention to the Japanese protest, but it occurs to us that the Chinese people generally and foreigners as well might be interested in just what is behind the Japanese protest—especially in view of the present attempt of the Chinese parliament to rid China of the Twenty-one Demands.....A foreign observer in Peking,....ventured the belief that the real essence of the Japanese protest is based on the fact that the Mitsui contract entered into in 1918....is really a part and parcel of the Twenty-one Demands—in fact that this contract really constitutes the "Twenty-second" demand—and that Japan in spite of protests to the contrary and several solemn agreements signed in Washington is still trying to maintain control over communications and especially the distribution of news in China.

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### Vegetable Industry

The Tsingtau Exchange, Ltd. is erecting three peanut oil storage tanks with a 1500 ton (short) capacity each. Tanks will be completed in October and a six inch pipe line of 4,000 feet, connecting the tanks with Pier 2 will be completed two or three months later. They will be steam-heated to a temperature of sixty degrees in winter. In loading ships the oil will be pumped from the main tanks into a small auxiliary tank which can be steam-heated to any desired temperature.

## 10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

March 26, 1938.

### Japan's Policy

Of interest in connection with the attempts of Japanese financiers to borrow money in New York for financing their program in China was a report on the status of American public opinion toward Japan and Japanese activities which was made by Shingora Takaishi, who recently returned to Osaka after spending six months in the United States as a so-called "peoples envoy." Mr. Takaishi is editor-in-chief of the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, leading Japanese newspapers....In an address before three thousand citizens of the Osaka-Kobe district....Mr. Takaishi declared: "As a result of my extensive American tour I came to the conclusion that the United States would avoid being involved in any war in the Far East or elsewhere provided she is not provoked. As long as we pay due respect to the American self-esteem we could openly do what we want in China."

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### Foreign Exchange Rates

While the foreign exchange rate continued steady throughout the week despite reports that allocations of foreign currency purchase permits made by the Central Bank of China were not enough to absorb business requirements in Shanghai, Tokyo's *Japan Times* reflected the opinion that dislocation of the Chinese government currency system "appeared inevitable." The journal....reported that numerous Shanghai residents are attempting to convert their money into commodities, securities and gold bullion which are advancing sharply and continuously. The selling rate by the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank was $344.83 for US$100. The buying rate was $341.15.

# The Military Move In

## Hanson W. Baldwin

*(Reprinted with permission from Harper's Magazine for December, 1947).*

SOME wise man once wrote that each victorious war costs us a few more of our liberties. Not only does the government, like an octopus, draw to itself during war extensive new powers, many of which are not repealed when peace comes, but the great emotional upsurge of victory inevitably has the double effect of carrying to new positions of authority the military architects of victory, and encouraging in the rest of us dreams of an expanded "manifest destiny" for our country.

Heretofore in our history this trend has rarely been serious, although it can be argued that the damage done to the country by the Grant regime following the Civil War and the brutal reign of the scalawags and carpetbaggers in the conquered South—both of which were in some degree products of the military mind—affected adversely the history of our country and kept us a divided nation for generations. But today the traditional postwar veneration of the military is coupled with the inevitable centralization of economic and political power in the federal government, and with the necessity of preparing the nation for total war and even atomic war. All three of these factors work toward the same end: the militarization of our government and of the American state of mind.

Before I attempt to spell out what I mean, I must emphasize that I am not a follower of Henry Wallace—nor, of course, a Communist, nor a fellow-traveler. To me Russia is a totalitarian dictatorship; I agree with the Truman-Marshall policy and believe the spread of Communism must be stopped. Since I have been caricatured in *Red Star*, insulted in *Pravda*, and condemned in the *Daily Worker*, I do not think I need to labor this point. It is because of my antipathy for police states that I say that the growing influence of the military in American life is dangerous to our democratic liberties.

Few Americans, I think, realize how far we have already deviated from our past concepts of freedom.

### Military Civilians

Most of us are pretty familiar with the extent to which the military now sit in positions of American civil authority. The President still has Admiral William D. Leahy as his personal chief of staff—a post of great power and intimate influence. Confidential reports and estimates of the daily situation in the world, which are placed on Mr. Truman's desk each morning, and presumably have their effect on policy, are the product of the Central Intelligence Agency, largely staffed by military men and so far directed (in its brief existence) by two admirals and one general. George C. Marshall, General of the Army, is Secretary of State. The Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas was Major General John H. Hildring and is now Charles E. Saltzman, a former brigadier general. Japan is governed almost unilaterally by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who is nominally an Allied commander but in some ways has been a law unto himself. Korea is under a military man. Germany is the domain of Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay; Austria, of Lieutenant General Geoffrey Keyes. These men ostensibly carry out a policy framed by the civilian State Department, but actually, as administrators of policy in military government, they are also architects of it.

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### Foreign Service

In the foreign service Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith is our ambassador to Moscow; Admiral Alan G. Kirk is our ambassador to Belgium; and Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer has just headed a special mission to China, where our policy has long been influenced by the military. In South Africa and Panama retired generals head the legation and embassy, and throughout South America some thirteen American military missions wield not only military but political power.

Two military men—General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur—are potential candidates for the Presidency; and many other less widely known military figures are making themselves politically available for Congressional or other elective positions.

Of course there is nothing insidious in this, per se. It is a natural consequence of a victorious war—a public acknowledgment of the debt due these men by a grateful nation, and a tribute to the type of men developed by the armed services and to the orderly administrative qualities of the military mind. Most of the men mentioned are good public servants; many of them are exceptional. Collectively, however, they represent a pattern; they have in common the habit of command and discipline and the mental outlook of years of military training—a tendency to apply in their thinking the yardstick of physical power. It is a pattern to be watched.

Less widely noted, perhaps, has been the extent to which the military influence has already affected our postwar policies. For example, though we frequently stated during the war that we had no territorial or expansionist ambitions, when peace came we virtually annexed the former Japanese-mandated islands. Our proposal to the United Nations was in the form of a "take-it-or-leave-it" notice; we must have a trusteeship validated by the UN or we would "withdraw" our offer—in other words, we would keep the islands anyway. Aside from the fact that it would be difficult to prove the strategic importance to us of all the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas, since our only potential enemy would seem to be Russia, far to the north, our contention that we must have a most-favored-nation position and be able to prohibit UN inspection visits to the islands certainly weakened our valid opposition to similar Russian privileges in Eastern Europe. We did not even have the grace to link up our policy in the mandates to a Japanese peace treaty. And now the drums are being beaten for Okinawa; we are being asked, with maudlin emotionalism whether the bodies of our boys who died to take that island are to lie in foreign soil—as if such reasoning would have appealed to those who died there! These policies in the Pacific—and the MacArthur unilateral policy in Japan—are definitely the product of military influence. A group in the State Department fought, unsuccessfully, the mandated islands policy; others have sought to curb MacArthur, but with singular lack of effect.

These examples of military influence in what should be fundamentally a civilian sphere could be multiplied. The reversal of our anti-Peron policy was not unrelated to efforts to create a share of American influence in South America to match Russia's in Eastern Europe. The alliance of veterans' organizations and the military to press for universal military training is another part of the same picture. We started the United Nations with vigor and with hope, but too often we have lent it official lip-service or bypassed it. I happen to believe that the aims of the Truman Doctrine are sound and that its companion piece, the Marshall Plan, is statesmanlike; but both could have had even greater validity had they first been submitted through the UN. Military thought, however, reflects essentially a dependence upon our own national strength, and military thinking undoubtedly influenced the way in which the Truman-Marshall program grew, was presented, and was developed.

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### Centralization Of Power

SO far this trend, as I have indicated, has been noticeable only in a few areas and on a few issues.

But unfortunately it coincides with another trend, inevitable in view of the complex economy of our times—the trend toward centralization of power in the federal government.

Let me hasten to dissociate myself from those makers of fairy tales who liken the Roosevelt, or Truman, or any other American administration to that of Hitler or Stalin. We are not that far gone—not by a long shot. Let me add, too, that I do not deny the need for great federal powers in control of interstate commerce, regulation of commercial airlines, the prevention of injurious cartels or monopolies of either capital or labor, and other matters of common consequence. What troubles me is the growing tendency among us citizens to accept without protest extensions of the police power into areas formerly sacrosanct.

When the United States Supreme Court recently virtually abrogated the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, by endorsing a search by law officers without a search warrant, there was scarcely a rumble in the press. When wire-tapping is legalized, as has happened in many states, or when the police adopt the procedure (in the Los Angeles area and elsewhere) of establishing road blocks and searching any and all cars in order to apprehend criminals, we citizens tend to accept these invasions of our liberties as necessary to the public safety. Recently the Presidential Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training, a group of distinguished citizens headed by Dr. Carl T. Compton, justified such training as a "performance of an obligation which every citizen owes to his country," and added the astonishing observation, "We see no reason why a man should be compensated for undertaking it." In view of the fact that there would be only a slim semantic wall between the forced induction of men into military duties without pay and the forced labor camps of Russia, one might have expected a clamor of public protest at the suggestion. But it seems hardly to have been noticed.

What makes this complacence of ours especially menacing is that it afflicts us at a time when we face the necessity of preparing for total or atomic war.

Here, indeed, the citizens of the United States are confronted with a paradox of frightful mien. Total war means the direction of every phase of the national life to the end of military victory. And preparation for it in time of peace may mean—if the preparations are pushed to full effectiveness—the direction of every phase of national life toward the maintenance of military strength. That might well mean the establishment of a "garrison state" and the destruction of the very qualities and virtues and principles which we originally set about to save.

It is well for us to realize that this danger is not simply the result of the atomic bomb. Even if the atomic bomb could somehow be removed from the arsenal of technological horrors, its companion exhibits in that arsenal would still confront us with the twin dangers of regimentation or death. Transoceanic missiles, radio-active dust, new gases a thousand times more toxic than the German "Tabun" series, which outmoded all prewar concepts; biological agents, long-range submersibles—these have revolutionized warfare to an extent that most of us are totally unable to grasp. And even if these weapons were not available, even if the technological revolution had not altered the whole meaning of war and the nature of our world, the same basic paradox would confuse our civilization, so long as the concept of total war, a concept seemingly indissolubly associated with our times, governs the making of war and the preparations for it. For implicit in the idea of total war is the harnessing of every form of national power to one end—military strength.

To a professional military analyst like myself this paradox is more difficult and painful than to the average American to whom the military life has seemed, until recently, a life apart. For a military observer sees vividly the need for greater military efficiency. He can scarcely oppose reasonable steps to that end. And he recognizes the strength of arguments raised for absolute military preparedness—even at the moment when he feels most sure that the United States could achieve this absolute preparedness only at the cost of our whole way of life, our democracy, and our liberties. This is the dilemma which the American people face today.

* * *

## Middle Way

I believe there is a middle way. I believe that the word "reasonable," which I used a moment ago, is the key to our dilemma; that a reasonably adequate preparation for emergency—even atomic emergency—and a reasonable increase in our military efficiency can be achieved without sacrifice of our democracy. But I am also sure that this cannot be done without complete and assured civilian control of these military preparations.

That is why the present trend is dangerous to our past concepts of the American way of life. The military are getting the bit in their teeth. There is considerable evidence that their objective is absolute preparedness in time of peace, an objective which has led all nations which have sought it to the garrison state, bankruptcy, and ruin.

Let us look at the few examples of this trend—at the efforts, partly conscious, partly unconscious, of the military to increase their power in nonmilitary fields.

I have already cited the growing influence of the War and Navy Departments in the formulation of foreign policy. The machinery for exerting such influence is being strengthened. The new and misnamed unification bill not only sets up a "super" Secretary of Defense, but is silent as to the cabinet status of his three subordinates, who receive the same salary as the super-Secretary—$15,000, the salary of a cabinet member. Presumably any President who so desired could have four secretaries for the armed forces in his cabinet instead of the original two—a disproportionate increase in military representation.

The War Department long has maintained a "Policy and Strategy Group" which deals essentially with political affairs as a section of G-3 of the General Staff, and the Navy Department has had its Politico-Military Affairs section. These departments have been linked with the State Department by "Swink"—a State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee which has sometimes had a strong influence upon policy.

Under the new organization of the armed forces, a National Security Council—which may have a profound effect upon government decisions—is headed by the President, but is normally composed, unequally, of the four defense Secretaries, a civilian chairman of a National Security Resources Board (which exists primarily for military reasons), and the Secretary of State.

The "merger" bill, per se, does not make for militarization of the country—though at least one of its opponents, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Brigadier General Merrit A. Edson of the Marine Corps, retired because he felt we had "reached the point where the military are directing instead of supporting this country's policy." The bill does, however, have some potentially dangerous provisions, in addition to those cited above. One provides for the creation of a joint staff of a hundred officers—headed by a director—to serve under the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As originally contemplated by War Department planners this staff would have followed closely the German Greater General Staff idea, and there is still some danger, despite enforced Congressional modifications, that it may assume a disproportionate share of power.

Another potential danger, scarcely understood by most of us, is the development of the popular idea of "unified command" to its logical military conclusion. Already proposed—and agreed upon by the new Department of the Army and Department of the Air Force (but not yet by the Navy)—is the appointment of a single officer as commander of all armed forces in the continental "theater" of the United States. This officer would be, at least theoretically, under the civilian branch of government, but he would be answerable to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and at least in times of emergency his power would be enormous, if not absolute. Not even Britain or Germany in the extremities of the last war found the need for any such organization as this!

Nor should we forget the recent—and still continuing—effort, backed by the Hearst and other isolationist-nationalist newspapers, to return control of the development of atomic energy in this country to the military. Major General Leslie R. Groves, who headed our atomic bomb effort during the war and has been at sixes and sevens with many scientists since, has indignantly denied that he has built any backfire

## US Cartoonists View ERP

"How about the foundation?"

The accompanying cartoons, from three US papers, represent three different views of Marshall's European Recovery Program. The upper left cartoon, by Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, pictures the "Man in the Moon" as a grinning Stalin who is pleased by the debate in Washington in which some economy minded Congressmen propose to "Whittle down" Marshall's requests for funds. Upper right cartoon, by Mergen in the *Atlanta Journal*, predicts a "dangerous voyage" through Congress for the Plan. Lower right, a cartoon in the *Los Angeles Times* by Russel, views the proposed expenditures as very large.

against the Lilienthal civilian commission which now controls atomic energy. But some of the military in Washington have made no secret of their dislike for the present atomic setup, and the carefully calculated news stories which have sought to discredit civilian control have certainly had military, as well as Congressional, sources.

The military influence in science and education is already tremendous. The liaison between scientific institutions and the armed services—obviously of great importance in this technological age—is becoming progressively closer; scientists are being offered higher salaries and more attractive positions for weapons development work than they could hope to achieve on college campuses; and at the same time the freedom of scientific research—once one of our basic freedoms—has been severely curtailed by the service ban on publication of many scientific papers and the secrecy restrictions which govern nearly all work done for the government.

Moreover, those who have feared the federal subsidization of education should note that the government—through the Army and Navy—has entered our peacetime colleges in a big way. The postwar naval ROTC, distributed throughout 52 colleges in the nation, will guarantee several thousands of young men annually the finest scholarships they could possibly receive in return for some hours' study of naval science each week. The government pays the universities—and thus, as a fat and wealthy "customer," must eventually have considerable influence upon them. Army ROTC courses have been increased in number and size, and suggestions—still strictly unofficial—have been made that junior ROTC courses should be extended to many high schools. The passage of universal military training legislation, with its various options, would enormously increase the number of federally-subsidized students in the nation, and the dependence of our whole educational system upon military financing and military policy.

Industry has similarly been invaded by the military. Many of our military leaders; realizing that victory in the recent war was won by our factories, understandingly emphasize the importance of industrial mobilization planning. The Navy Industrial Association, the Army Ordinance Association, and numerous other semi-official military agencies, form the integrating link between big industry and the military. These organizations perform undeniably useful functions; but they also increase greatly the influence of the military in industry, especially through service-sponsored off-the-record meetings, demonstrations, cruises, etc. Industrial mobilization planning extends to the stock-piling of materials, which has a major effect upon the world economy; to the placing of "educational" orders for munitions in peacetime; and to the classification of various raw materials as "strategic." It has led to declarations by naval leaders, at least, that the oil of the Middle East is "vital" to the United States—which is something that naval leaders should not decide, in view of its terrific potential consequences upon our foreign policy.

Most important, military orders now amount to a considerable and, in certain industries, a dominant share of the total volume, with obvious consequences. This is particularly true in the aircraft industry, which is virtually dependent upon military patronage and thus naturally becomes a powerful mouthpiece for our armed services.

* * *

But more menacing than any of these extensions of military power

into civilian fields is the growing power and prestige of the military in influencing public and Congressional opinion.

In prewar days—and even during part of the war—the Army and Navy were novices in opinion-making, though the new Air Forces were more blatant and employed some of the Hollywood technique of superlatives. Today, however, the services have approached the job of influencing public opinion with earnestness and effort; service public relations schools have been organized, commanding officers are "oriented," and plans and policies are carefully outlined.

Now if all this effort were devoted simply to "laying the truth on the line" there would be no damage done. But this is by no means the case.

I recognize that it is very hard to draw a satisfactory line between fact and propaganda, and that there is an inevitable human tendency to put the best foot forward. But suppression of news, censorship at the source, the conduct of lobbies in Congress, and tax-financed efforts to put across certain legislation by influencing public opinion constitute to my mind propaganda and, when conducted by a government agency, propaganda of a most dangerous kind. The military services today are conducting propaganda—both by what they do and cause to be published, and by what they censor and try to hide.

Let us consider the latter first. Censorship at the source—that is, the hiding of news of interest and importance to the body politic—that is, of course, the most effective censorship, far more so than the blue pencil kind. The services are exercising a greater degree of censorship at the source than ever before in our peacetime history. Much information which should be available to the public is classified as "confidential" or "secret," and the public information officers of the Services profess themselves helpless to release anything so classified.

The limits to which this censorship at the source goes are not generally understood. Many of the captured German war documents, for instance, still are unavailable to scholars; so, too, are hundreds of our own war documents. Some of this "overclassification" can be laid to the inertia of a big machine, but some is deliberate—the building of a screen to veil and protect the sacrosanct services. The Hepburn report on the disgraceful Battle of Savo Island has never yet, for instance, been made public by the Navy. More ludicrous, yet even more disturbing, was the fate of a request to the Army Department—made by a reputable biographer—for permission to examine some documents relating to the career of Sheridan, the famous Civil War general. The biographer had been to West Point and had discovered that Sheridan as a cadet had engaged in a fracas with another cadet, for which he was suspended and turned back a year. Not all the records in the incident—important to a biographer for its psychological effect upon a budding career—were available at West Point, so the author applied for permission to examine the details in the Army Department files. After long deliberation he was turned down on the grounds that such a release might tend to impair the reputation of a great military leader, or, to put in the Army Department's official phraseology, "it was finally decided that nothing was to be gained by revealing the rather disgraceful language of a man who later served his country well."

Now I have little use for the "debunking" school of writers, but I am certain that neither accurate biography nor accurate history can be written—or for that matter, accurate news—given such a protective policy. It was the same policy, it will be recalled, which the Army tried to apply to the Patton slapping incident. Given such a policy about Civil War "heroes," how can we hope to get, in our lifetime, an impartial and accurate judgment of our own World War II leaders?

There have been many other such occurrences. The Navy sponsored a bill at the last session of Congress—which fortunately did not pass, but will be brought up again—which would have made it a crime involving severe punishment to reveal or publish the information contained in any coded message. Since nearly every government message sent into or out of the country is coded, the consequences of such an act would be obvious. Two recent postwar books, both of them helpful to the nation but sometimes incidentally critical, were bitterly condemned by some of the militarists in the Army and Navy Departments. The authors—Major General John R. Deane, who wrote *The Strange Alliance*, and Rear Admiral E. M. Zacharias, who wrote *Secret Missions*—were actually recommended for court-martial by some zealots. Fortunately, higher authority did not approve.

The hiding of facts is understandable in view of present-day Soviet blustering. And in itself it is perhaps not too dangerous, even though one general (of little intelligence) is reported to have said that if newspapers did not co-operate by printing some of the things his office was interested in, he would "reach" them through their bankers, and on at least two occasions the Inspector General of the Army has questioned newspaper men (politely) about the sources of their stories. For a free press—so long as it is free and its reporters are endowed with any of our native American initiative and fidelity to truth—can be depended upon to break through the screen at least here and there.

* * *

## Effective Service Lobby

MORE serious is the deliberate and contrived effort of the services to influence Congressional and public opinion. Both the Army and the Navy have long maintained—and the new Air Forces will follow their example—legislative liaison divisions, or officers to maintain contact with Congress. In the case of the Army Department this office is headed by a brigadier general and has a considerable staff. In so far as its work is devoted to answering queries from Congressmen it is necessary and above board, but the work goes well beyond this. In the opinion of some experienced Capitol Hill observers, the service lobby is one of the most effective in Washington. Officers are kept permanently attached to the Congressional armed forces committees, junkets and trips are arranged for favored (or, indeed, for any) Congressmen, and much time, thought, and energy are devoted by all ranks in the Army and Navy Departments to the best means of influencing Congress.

This influence is both direct (in Washington) and indirect (by way of public opinion throughout the country). In the case of at least two bills—the so-called merger or unification measure and the universal military training proposal—carefully planned and organized lobbies and propaganda campaigns have been conducted by the services since the war.

During the long interservice struggle over "unification," the publicity policy and the "line" to be followed were carefully charted by high-level conferences in both the Army and Navy Departments, and directives illustrating them went out either in writing or by word of mouth throughout the country. Books, pamphlets, and papers for or against the measure (some of them very elaborate) were distributed to Congress and the press; motion pictures were planned, speeches made, speakers told what to stress, etc.

The propaganda drive for the enactment of universal military training has been even more blatant, largely because the services are not divided on this issue. The technique is well devised and thorough. The aid of veterans' organizations, civic societies, chambers of commerce, and "big names"—who are always psychologically impressed by "confidential" military revelations of our "weakness," or by the "tenseness" of a situation—are enlisted as army spokesmen. A show-case for UMT, with all the trappings and furbelows best calculated to sell it, has been set up at Fort Knox, and numerous visitors are flown there—many of them at government expense. Army Advisory Committees—hundreds of them all over the country—have been established to "give public endorsement," in the words of Colonel Guy V. Miller, "when justified, to Army-sponsored endeavors such as the recruiting program,.... to assist in disseminating information about Army plans and releasing information to the press and by talks and speeches before civic, educational, and religious groups...." etc. Many of these committees are roughly representative of the general population in the

communities from which they are drawn; a few are top-heavy with business leaders.

The Army Department's propaganda for UMT has not only stressed its absolute military necessity—something which is challenged by its opponents, including some within the Army—but has carried the argument a step further and described UMT as the "salvation" —moral and mental as well as physical—of the decadent youth of the nation. Like all good propaganda it not only repeats the same old cliches over and over again (with the technique Hitler used so successfully) until people believe them, but it attacks and derogates not only the arguments but the motives of the measure's opponents. Some it has daubed with the "pacifist" or "crackpot" brush; others it tries to paint as "Communist."

* * *

## Report Is Proof

THE result, in any case, is the same: propaganda carefully conducted by a government department in contravention of federal laws. The proof is clearly provided in a little-noticed report of a House Subcommittee on Publicity and Propaganda of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, which was transmitted to the Attorney General for action on July 23. This Sub-committee which investigated the War Department's activities in behalf of UMT included in its membership—interestingly enough—at least one leading and ardent advocate of UMT, Representative James W. Wadsworth. Chairman Forest A. Harness and his co-members, including Mr. Wadsworth, agreed—with the unanimous endorsement of the full Committee on Executive Expenditures—that "the Army Department, its personnel, and civilian employees have gone beyond the limits of their proper duty of providing factual information to the people and the Congress, and have engaged in propaganda supported by taxpayers' money to influence legislation now pending before the Congress."

The evidence submitted to the Attorney General showed that the Army Department had produced a special film, extolling UMT, called a "Plan for Peace," which cost $36,293. And it had sent two paid civilian speakers around the ountry to beat the drums in UMT's behalf and it had issued slanted pamphlets—some of them containing facts challenged by witnesses—advocating UMT. The significance of this sort of thing was well stated in the Harness committee report.

"It has become apparent to your committee," the report stated, "that government (in this case, Army Department) propaganda is designed, in most instances, to make the individual believe he is thinking for himself. In reality, government propaganda distorts facts with such authority that the person becomes prejudiced or biased in the direction which the government propagandists wish to lead national thinking. It is the authority and the supposed objectivity of the government which leads people to accept without question the words released by government officials and agencies."

The report quotes with approval the testimony of Dr. Ralph McDonald of the National Education Association, who declared:

"I became increasingly concerned because to my way of thinking there are two ways of destroying human freedom—negative and positive. Soviet Russia is giving a perfect indication of how to destroy freedom both ways, through concentration camps, through censorship, through every means for punishing individuals for being an individual. They suppress freedom. That is the negative procedure.

There is, however, an equally devastating way to destroy human freedom, and that is to establish government and government agencies and give to them the channels or the money by which to use the channels of influencing public opinion; and if millions of dollars are expended by a public agency in propagandizing the people for a particular law.... that is one of the most effective ways of destroying human freedom I know, and it is perfectly illustrated by Russia again."

## Permanent Service Women

There are some additional purely military measures which seem to be corollary to these trends and which give a few of our officers—particularly those of our "civilian components"—some disquiet. We are, for instance, planning to perpetuate the wartime Wacs and Waves and to put women into uniform permanently as part of our armed forces—something that would have been unthinkable twenty years ago, and an act of far-reaching psychological importance. We are spending more than $10,000,000,000 annually on our armed forces, or more than $70 apiece per person in the United States; we maintain uniformed forces totaling more than 1,500,000 men, the largest navy in the world, one of the largest air forces, and an army second to none in equipment and second only to Russia's in size (with the exception of the miscellaneous hordes of China, which can scarcely be dignified by the term "army.") Yet we are constantly told that our armed forces are "weak," and measures already presented to Congress (UMT, etc.) would add billions more to our defense budget.

The pay of our professional enlisted men is by far the highest in the world and Congress is about to be urged to grant a considerable pay increase for officers. Yet the Army and Navy already enjoy economic privileges—including post exchanges, clubs, quarters, and a liberalized income tax during the war years—which put their personnel in a socially and economically favored position. We should not forget that the first step toward autocracy in any nation is the creation of a specially privileged military class.

## Reasonable Security

Our national problem is to achieve a *reasonable* security—a relative, not absolute, security—in an era of total war and the atomic bomb, in an era of centralized government and of postwar military prestige, without sacrificing the basic tenets of democracy. Many able students think this cannot be done unless we have a federalized world government and international control of the atomic bomb is achieved. I do not agree with them.

The problem, to me, is older that the atomic bomb; it is the age-old conflict between security and liberty—a conflict which in nations that have endured has usually ended in a compromise between a degree of *relative* security and guarantees of *basic* liberties. I think such a compromise can be achieved. But not without effort, not without vigilance, not without struggle.

The middle way is the best way. We need military strength in this uncertain world; appeasement and weakness certainly mean war. But so, too, do militant and overbearing strength and too great an emphasis on military as opposed to political, economic, and psychological strength. The military must be honored but not extolled, allowed to influence but not to propagandize, have their place in government but a place strictly circumscribed.

For there is nothing so hopeless, all past history tells us, as the attempt to achieve absolute security by the sword. The tragic fallacy of such attempts is written larger upon the past for all to see. Least of all in the atmoic age can we achieve absolute security or total preparedness. If we attempt it we shall have sold our birthright of freedom; liberty will have been sacrificed for a mirage. There is strength in moderation, strength above all in the basic American concept that military power is and must remain subordinate to civilian authority.

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# Towards Democracy In China

## By J. K. Choy

SINCE the termination of World War II, China has existed in a state of national crisis. To believe that this crisis involves only the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists is to oversimplify the matter. A third group, the Democratic League, composed of several liberal democratic parties, exists. For its opposition to the one party dictatorship of the Kuomintang, the League has been declared illegal by the Kuomintang, and its members arrested. These opposition parties represent the truly democratic elements of the Chinese people.

Prominent Americans who have visited China recently revealed that a vast amount of foreign aid to the Kuomintang government has fallen largely into the hands of the higher officials and the feudal war lords who comprise this party. Hundreds of millions of American dollars donated for the relief and defense of the Chinese people have been utilized for the private advantage of a few individuals who place their welfare above the welfare of the Chinese people.

Numerous appeals were made by the United States Government for internal reforms in the Kuomintang Government. These culminated in General Marshall's visit to China, where he attempted to mediate between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists. The Nationalist Government refused to guarantee free political rights not only to the Chinese Communists, but to all non-communist, democratic organizations as well. Marshall's mission was a failure.

Today, the Nationalist Government consists of a one-party dictatorship. All voices of opposition are suppressed by the Secret Police. Reports are received daily from China of students, professors, newspapermen and political leaders disappearing during "midnight visits" of the Secret Police. The Chinese people have not benefited from the American aid. Chiang Kai-shek's military program has also been a failure. With all the American planes, guns, and ammunition, Chiang has not been able to check the advances of the Chinese Communist armies. Furthermore, Chiang's soldiers have deserted his armies in alarming numbers. The reason for this is apparent. In return for their lives, the Kuomintang has offered them nothing but a corrupt one-party dictatorship which suppresses their civil liberties, deprives them of their right to the pursuit of happiness, and keeps them away from their wives, children and farms.

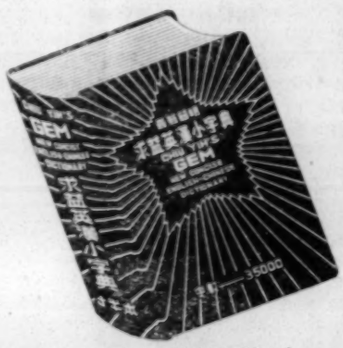
Why, then, in the face of Chiang Kai-shek's refusal or inability to reform the Nationalist government, does the United States continue to pour money down the drain of the Kuomintang regime? It is to fight communism. It is obvious this has not succeeded. And it is highly doubtful if the support of an unpopular government will ever defeat communism, anywhere. The only way to defeat communism is to make democracy work. The American dollar is too valuable to waste on a dictatorship. Once the Chinese people are offered real democracy, communism won't stand a chance.

It is for these reasons that the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party is appealing to the American people to stop throwing away money on the Kuomintang government. The Chinese people need American help. But before they can receive it, they must establish a democratic government. To accomplish this, the Chinese Democrtaic Constitutionalist Party advocates the immediate establishment of an interim coalition government including all political parties and the cessation of the Civil War, with United Nations mediation, if necessary. This, followed by the adoption of a democratic constitution, will set the course for the future development of democracy in China.

The establishment of a democratic government would be a real blow to communism whereas the gift of an additional US$570,000,000 to the Nationalist Government will only further line the pockets and feather the vests of the bureaucrats and the war lords. The Chinese people want and need a democratic government as much as do the American people. It is for the American people to see the issues clearly and not support false programs of aid to a group of men who are against decency, against democracy and against freedom.

THE writer of this article, Mr. Choy, is a leading figure in the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party, a political group organized largely among Overseas Chinese in America. The party became active in China during the time when General Marshall was attempting to mediate the Civil War and, at that time, was reported to have formed an alliance with the Democratic Socialist Party headed by Carson Chang. Following the withdrawal of the Democratic Socialists from the Democratic League and the decision of Carson Chang to participate in the present Government, the Democratic Constitutionalist Party broke off with the Democratic Socialists, thus enlarging the split in the latter party. Since the Kuomintang outlawed the Democratic League, Mr. Choy and his associates have become increasingly critical of the Central Government.

While this article certainly expresses a partisan political view, it is of interest mainly because it gives a clue to the thinking of a supposedly important section of the wealthy and powerful Overseas Chinese community in the United States. —Editor.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# THE PLIGHT OF HONAN

*By Hsieh Ching-an*

A delegation which is composed of twelve Honan Provincial Political Councilors and led by Speaker Chang Hung-lieh has started for Nanking by air. Its mission is to appeal to the Government to adopt forthwith effective measures to alleviate the terrible plight of thirty million Honanese.

Owing to its geographical position, Honan has always been a strategic bone of contention in war time because its possession would have profound influence upon the development of the whole scope of hostilities. In the past decades, warlords fought desperately for occupation of this province as a stepping stone towards attaining their goal—the overthrow of the ruling regime. It is with the same object in view that, since VJ Day, the Communist raiders have tried and are still trying, to establish strongholds in this part of the country, though their attempts have again and again been frustrated by the better-armed and well-trained Government forces.

## Suffers Losses

Nevertheless, during the last couple of years Honan has sustained indescribable physical losses through warfare. Its economic life has been crippled. Thousands of acres of its fertile land have been laid waste, a large number of its livestock slaughtered, most of its rich coal mines blown up and not a few of its flourishing towns devastated. Hsuch'ang is a typical case. Famous for its production of tobacco leaves, it is an important business center on the Ping-Han railway line. After a furious onslaught, the Reds seized it on December 15, last year, but two months later it was retaken by the National troops. The town is now a picture of shambles and desolation. One half of its north city gates have been ripped off by gunfire. Its main streets, which were formerly lined with thriving stores, are in ruins with the few remaining shops either entirely closed up or partially opened with practically empty shelves. Public offices, banks and official quarters, thoroughly ransacked and demolished, become heaps of rubbles. In fact, wherever you go you see a pathetic sight of wanton destruction —houses without roofs or windows, battered walls with wide gaps, dismantled motor trucks lying by the roadside and in the ditches outside the city wall. At the station are several bullet-riddled locomotives and dozens of cars—all rendered completely useless.

Throughout the length and breadth of the province there is hardly a hsien that has not been menaced or actually overrun by the Reds. But, strange though it seems, Wuen Si is an exception. It is a poor region in southwest Honan, economically and culturally backward, and comprises four hsien—Neihsiang, Chenping, Hsichuan and Tenghsien. Here an alliance for self-protection, self-rule and self-support has been formed, and a strong force of "min t'uan" (citizen army) has been organized under the leadership of Hsueh Ping-ling, the guardian and Leondias of the locality. Recently about 300,000 Communists under Chen Keng launched a fierce attack upon this area, but were routed by the local peasant army who fought bravely in defense of their homes.

Commander Hsueh, as he is called by the villagers, is a middle-aged retired military officer. Clad in home spun cotton cloth garments, he looks like an ordinary farmer, living a simple life of austerity and modesty. But he is a man of courage and ability with a knowledge of politics, economics and strategy.

"The self-rule of Wuen Si aims at procuring the maximum welfare for the majority of its inhabitants," says the Commander complacently, holding a long bamboo smoking pipe. "We must improve their livelihood We must raise their standard of living. We must unite, cooperate and work together. This place is a testing ground for the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's 'Three Principles of the People.'" He feels that an effective, well-defined political measure is the prerequisite for an economic reconstruction program which, in turn, can be implemented only after a reasonable distributive system has been arranged by carrying out the 'Principle of the People's Livelihood.'

## Organize Corps

Distressfully oppressed by the Reds, and apparently inspired by the spirit of Wuen Si's militia, many self-protection corps have been organized by peasants elsewhere under the names of "Red Spear Society," "Yellow Spear Society" to help Government troops fight the raiders.

At the present time, heavy fighting is going on at Loyang and other places to the east, while skirmishes are reportedly taking place here and there in the southeast area. The burden of the bandit-suppression campaign, however, is telling on Kaifeng, the provincial capital. Within the short span of six weeks, commodity prices have skyrocketed to high levels because of the ruinous inflation, the acute shortage of foodstuffs and coal and disrupted railroad and highway communications. Within one month, the cost of wheat has soared from CNC$90,000 to CNC$350,000 per tou (20 pounds), and the price of household coal has jumped from CNC$2,000,000 to CNC$3,600,000 per ton.

Dismayed and appalled at the abrupt rise in the cost of daily necessities, the common Kaifengites all have sorrowful faces and worry about how to keep body and soul together. Just about two months ago, one could purchase three bags of wheat flour or 128 pounds of rice with CNC$1,000,000, but now with the same amount one can buy only half a bag of flour or 23 pounds of rice! After consultation with the Chamber of Commerce and the Grain Dealers' Guild, the authorities have adopted emergency measures to curb the alarming rise in the price of cereals, but so far no appreciable success has been achieved. On the other hand, prices of a number of essentials, such as edible oil, petroleum, etc. are still rising. Meanwhile, business is depressing. After the Lunar New Year, more than three hundred commercial and industrial establishments have shut their doors permanently owing to their inability to bear exorbitant taxes and levies, to the shortage of imported goods and raw materials, to heavy running expenses and to the general decline of the community's purchasing power.

## Schools Close

In these hard times Honan's education is at a very low ebb. Many schools in the bandit-infested districts have had to cease functioning. In Kaifeng, latest statistics show that 19,686 children are unable to go to school. This number does not include private middle school students whose parents cannot afford to pay the abnormally high tuition fees. For example, a certain Christian mission middle school here has stipulated that a student must pay for this half-year term 28 tou of wheat, either in kind or in cash on the basis of the market price. Assuming one tou of wheat is sold at $300,000 it means that a father has to pay $8,400,000 if he wants his son or daughter to get into the school to study. Bearing in mind that this large sum of money is equivalent to one and a half months' salary of a common clerical worker, one can readily see what hardship he has to undergo in order to send his child to school. If he has several children, you may be pretty sure that he has to keep most of them idle at home.

Under the present conditions of adversity it seems that nothing short of a miracle could enable the ill-fated people to pull through the desperate situation in which they now find themselves. But disheartening and disillusioned as they are, they do not despair. Their inherent vitality and ability to hold on against tremendous odds has found expression in every walk of life. You can notice it in the way the railway workmen risk their lives to maintain traffic wherever possible. It is the Communists' tactics to destroy railways.

Time and again, the Lung-Hai deputy director, Wu Shih-en, a well-known talented railway engineering expert, has personally led his able staff to repair under fire the devastated railway line. A visit to Wu's office has convinced the writer that without doubt the hope of China's recovery and salvation lies in everyman's doing his duty faithfully for the good of the country.

# US Magazine Roundup

## *The Nation*

IN an article entitled "Where Our Dollars Go in China" which appeared in the February 7, 1948 issue of *The Nation*, Maxwell S. Stewart states the case against giving any substantial aid to the Chinese National Government. He says: "The ERP has been carefully tailored to do a specific job: to place Europe on its feet economically within five years. But no one pretends that the US$20,000,000 a month proposed for China will do much for Chinese recovery. No one has suggested that its benefits will all finally trickle through to the Chinese people, who need help so badly."

Mr. Stewart goes on to say that there are many answers to the argument that the National Government should receive American support as a "bulwark against Communism," "but most of them presuppose a knowledge of China which few Congressmen possess. It is hazardous to try to explain the important distinction between Europe's Moscow-controlled Communist parties whose activities are coordinated by the Cominform, and China's communism, which developed largely as an indigenous agrarian movement and even now gets little direction or material help from Moscow. The average American, exposed to effective Kuomintang propaganda in this country, can hardly believe the distinction exists....Even less do (Americans) understand the powerful undercurrents in China, particularly in rural areas, which make a basic political change inevitable."

Mr. Stewart continues with a review of postwar American and foreign support to China's National Government. He points out the dissipation and waste of the $3,000,000,000 given to the Central Government in the form of foreign credits, direct and indirect military aid, surplus property and other goods and services since VJ Day. He deplores the "shocking misuse" of a large part of the $490,000,000's worth of UNRRA funds and supplies, and does not forget to point out that only an estimated two percent ever reached the 100,000,000 Chinese living in the Communist-controlled liberated areas, citing the UNRRA charter to show that this inequality of distribution was in direct violation of it.

As to the effectiveness of military aid, Mr. Stewart states that "America has granted nearly a billion dollars' worth of military aid to one contestant in China's Civil War .... but despite (this fact) the Kuomintang armies have shown themselves, man for man, far less than a match for the relatively untrained, poorly equipped Communist armies." Mr. Stewart concedes that "strict American control" of military aid might increase its effectiveness, but feels that certain strongly nationalistic elements in the Kuomintang would not agree to such control. "Since experience has shown that help given without control is almost entirely wasted, the State Department appears to have turned thumbs down on the plan for expanded military assistance.

"The $300,000,000 economic-aid program, on the other hand, seems certain of Congressional approval. Although it is ridiculous to pretend that this expenditure will have no political significance, it is obviously but a small fraction of the amount that would be needed to save Chiang's regime from collapse.

"....If the money is spent for food, medical supplies, and clothing, and if these articles are distributed to the whole Chinese people, under American supervision, the expenditure will be justified. But if any portion of the sum is turned over to the Nanking Government, we can be certain that it will not be used for the purpose for which it was intended and that much of it will find its way into private bank accounts.

"While those who urge direct aid to the Kuomintang imagine that American funds will 'save China from Communism,' past experience shows clearly that they will serve only to feed the corruption which has driven even some very conservative Chinese to embrace Communism as a lesser evil."

* * *

## *Far Eastern Survey*

IN the February 11 issue of the *Far Eastern Survey* published by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Paul M. A. Linebarger states "The Case for Aid to China."

"Politically," he says, "the simplest argument for aid is the simple factual statement that there are only two major groups in China, that these two hold the entire country, and that since American public opinion and policy could not conceivably back Communism, it must work through the existing majority regime . . . No serious American leader or scholar has proposed that the USA and USSR recognize the Chinese Communist authorities as the legal government of China . . . Instead, the case is put in the negative, and the alternative to the present Chinese Government is presented as a 'democratic' government . . . Solely in Chinese political terms, this argument is weak. There has never been a 'democratic' government in China . . . Between the two of them (the Nationalist and Communist Governments), they have an absolute monopoly of real power in China."

Mr. Linebarger feels that aiding the Nationalist Government is consistant with both the Truman Doctrine of an alliance of non-Communist democracies and with Mr. Wallace's idea that the US recognize the Soviet sphere of influence and cease meddling in Soviet-inspired territories. For, he points out, "it is unfair to invite the Russians into Chinese adventures and then to threaten them with rebuffs . . . 'Non-aid' to China would violate Mr. Truman's anti-Communist principles by leaving a large area exposed to Communist penetration; it would also violate Mr. Wallace's pro-Communist principles by denying to the Russians their due influence in a contiguous 'democracy.'

"The practicality of aid 'to Chiang' has been assailed. Among opponents of aid to China, it is common argument that 'China' and 'Chiang Kai-shek' are two different things. Of course they are. Truman is not America, nor Stalin Russia, nor Attlee England. The Generalissimo is President. On him are heaped the blame for the Japanese invasion, the peasant problems inherited from the Ch'ing dynasty, the weaknesses arising from long-standing imperialist interference, the Russian wrecking of Manchuria, and China's age-old lack of sound military tradition."

Stating that aid to China must be considered not in terms of the "goodness or badness" of Chiang's government but rather "in terms of the administrative, fiscal, military, and inspecting safeguards which could surround it," Mr. Linebarger asserts, "If aid is extended so that each item of aid falls under careful expert supervision (by small but highly-qualified staffs), it will be effective.

He concludes: "Civil War in China cannot be stopped by a mere hands-off policy. It can be stopped or localized only by decisive external action. Ideally, direct Washington-Moscow negotiation could end the struggle. Short of that, aid to China presents the best way of ending the war south of the Yellow River and of stabilizing it elsewhere.

"If America does not quarantine the Chinese war, it will spread throughout China, and could last for many years . . . The ultimate victims of the war are not the Nationalist and Communist leaders—both sets of whom have good food, good homes, medical care and foreign friends. The sufferers are the Chinese common people. Surely American ingenuity, which was practical enough for the A.R.A. to feed Russia under Lenin, can find means of spreading the area of law and order in China, reopening communications, encouraging production, stabilizing the currency, reestablishing education, and reducing the burden of the Marxist rebellion."

# Will Imports Improve?

By J. R. Kaim

AT the time of writing this contribution to the *Review*, the Customs Returns for January have not yet appeared. While it is hard to say what riddles the export side of the balance sheet will propose, it is almost certain that commercial imports will show no improvements. The term "commercial imports," of course, refers to cargoes imported by concerns other than government-controlled, and the term "improvement" stands for larger quantities of goods needed by and ordered on behalf of direct and indirect consumers.

A visitor who arrived here by the end of February, not from the moon but from the United States, was amazed to find his agent sitting in his office, doing practically nothing and watching his small staff doing the same. Still, as the visitor realized, the man was quite well off. By no means one of the great, long-established businessmen, the agent still got a nice quota—he had been one of the first to import in 1946. This, as the visitor discovered without difficulty, he simply sold to other importers or manufacturers, securing for himself a share in their profit. Having finished these negotiations, he could settle down to play cards until the next quota allocation was to keep him busy again for a couple of hours.

Though true, the American visitor's story may not apply to hundreds of quota receivers. But even if it applies to a dozen or two, it shows where the prevailing system is bound to lead.

Firms, and not only mushroom firms, have to cover their expenses. Their chances to export are slim. To act solely as brokers offers little financial record. Their imports are extremely limited, but to embark upon a career of smuggling is not in their line. What else can they be expected to do except to make the best use of their quotas or to sell their imports at highest prices?

What one calls a high price, of course, is a matter of taste and appetite. But a 100 percent net profit or a 200 percent gross profit from importation of industrial raw materials appears to be exorbitant, nevertheless. Still, these merchants claim that even when government-controlled corporations carry out imports of basic industrial materials, the differences between their cost prices and their local quotations are tremendous. Rayon (artificial silk yarn) was mentioned as one example.

Once, industries in China were established with the idea of supplying consumer goods to the famous 400 million customers and of exporting cheap manufactured goods to markets which needed them. The would-be manufacturers knew pretty well that apart from very, very few materials they had to import practically everything they needed; raw materials, machinery, frequently even skilled labor. Even so, they could produce cheaply. They could compete. They could export.

Today, their imported basic materials are extremely expensive. The Import Board is reported to grant import licences in accordance with information obtained from its own sources of information about stocks on hand and when such stocks are considered sufficient, no licence will be granted—even if the cargo is intended for a direct consumer, i.e. a manufacturer, and even if it is sold at half the local market price.

Both manufacturers and importers claim they have fought and are still fighting a losing battle against the present system. They say they have again heard of reforms being planned. But even such reforms, they are afraid, will help little, for prices of all basic materials are far too high because imports are far too small. It takes large imports of raw textiles, fine and heavy chemicals, dyestuffs and other basic materials to force prices down and to render Made-in-China cargo competitive on the world market.

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The prevailing import-export system was introduced with a view to saving foreign exchange, not with a view to ruining the trade and creating economic drones. Hoarding and speculating in imported materials was not what the Government wanted to bring about. But when restrictions and regulations grew, when imports—not of luxuries but of essentials—were far more hampered than could have been foreseen and when black market exchange rates increased far above the official ones—thus decreasing the State's income in foreign exchanges—the present state of affairs was predicted by many.

It is now predicted that minor reforms can help but little if any. It is said that imports of all basic industrial materials should be uncontrolled. It is believed that only then prices and the cost of living index would drop, while commercial exports of many goods, now practically out of the question, would again be possible.

## The Witch Hunt

*In the Spotlight*

—Seibel, in The Richmond Times-Dispatch

"Guess Who"

—Herblock, in The Washington Post

# The Week's Business

DURING the week under review (March 17 to March 24), all sectors of the market were impressed by very stringent money conditions. By the middle of the second week of March, private, so-called black interest, rates went up from about 24 percent to as high as 40 percent and then came down to 36 percent on last Tuesday. However, at the beginning of the fourth week of March, the interest rates at the Stock Exchange fluctuated between 40 percent and 60 percent.

Tight money conditions were believed to have been caused first, by investing large amounts of national currency in commodity purchases in interior provinces. Another factor, probably less important, was seen in increasing remittances from Shanghai to South China ports.

That commodity prices went up only slightly and in some lines even came down certainly was due to the general cash shortage which, of course, also impressed the stock markets. As can be understood from the table below, curb exchanges were as much impressed as the official Stock Exchange.

Meanwhile, rumors had it that banks will be permitted to grant packing credits for more than one month only, as is the case at present. This would give exporters a chance to buy on the market, to store the cargo for, say, six months and to ship them when a new readjustment of official exchange rates by the Central Bank would render the shipping more attractive. Though no decision in this respect was announced during the week under review, some businessmen already argued it would help but little; they indicated that for the past several months prices of exportable China produce have realized faster advances than official foreign exchange rates. Since the end of February, they pointed out, the Central Bank has raised its rates by about 70 percent, whereas several Chinese products have gained, during the same period, between 150 percent and 200 percent.

However, indications are that during the week under review, in spite of all handicaps some commercial exports could be carried out. Many of such shipments are believed to have been intended for Hongkong from where they could be sold rather profitably—not because of cheap original prices (which were non-existing) but due to a clever utilization of different dollar-pound cross-rates.

Price reductions brought about on the wholesale market through the shortage of cash, however, was said to help exporters only little.

Under such conditions, various organizations again have submitted suggestions to either the Central Governmest or one or the other of its agencies and corporations. Simultaneously the press carried similar demands and statements made by the Council for the Promotion of Foreign Trade, a private trade organization, all to the effect that the prevailing methods are outdated. Six demands were brought forward at a meeting of the Council, namely:

(1) To promulgate a list of prohibited goods which must not be imported under any conditions.

(2) To permit free importation of all other goods.

(3) To allow exporters to use part of their foreign exchange derived from their shipments, to finance their own imports.

(4) If the exporter cannot or may not use such foreign exchange, to appoint banks for selling it to other importers.

(5) To render foreign exchange rates more flexible by closely following demand and supply.

(6) To use what foreign exchange is to be surrendered to the Central Bank for the foundation of an Exchange Stabilization Fund.

While practically all commercial exporters continue to express their objections against the present activities of Government corporations, the Central Trust announced a new purchasing scheme which for the time being refers to tung oil only. The Trust is supposed to buy tung oil for and on behalf of would-be exporters who may take over once they have found a buyer abroad.

Trade circles called that new scheme both unpractical and superfluous. This is much more than that as the Trust will continue to act as an exporter offering its purchases abroad at prices which commercial firms may hardly be in a position to compete against.

## Quotations

| Stocks | Mar. 17 CNC$ | Mar. 24 CNC$ |
|---|---|---|
| Wing On Textile | 1,773 | 1,757 |
| Mayar Silk | 3,480 | — |
| Commercial | 740 | 670 |
| Wing On Co. | 585 | 610 |
| Ewo Cotton | 1,870,000 | 1,700,000 |
| Bond C | 104,000 | 82,000 |

| Commodities | Mar. 17 CNC$ | Mar. 24 CNC$ |
|---|---|---|
| White Rice, first | 3,450,000 | 3,800,000 |
| Wheat Flour | 1,440,000 | 1,465,000 |
| Peanut Oil | 7,700,000 | 8,400,000 |
| Raw Silk "C" | 285,000,000 | 300,000,000 |
| Jap. Rayon | 208,000,000 | 201,000,000 |
| Cot. Yn. (42) | 177,000,000 | 176,000,000 |
| Cot. Yn. (20) | 96,000,000 | 100,000,000 |
| Caustic Soda | 100,000,000 | 91,000,000 |
| Koo Pan Soap | 5,880,000 | 5,860,000 |

VITAMINERALS — — — — VITAMINERALS — — — — VITAMINERALS

# Natural vs. Synthetic Vitamins & Minerals

By: Research Department

Vitaminerals Inc.

ALTHOUGH plants, animals and man have been utilizing vitamins and minerals since life began, the knowledge of their nature and importance ranks among the newer developments in the science of nutrition. Prior to the comparatively recent origin of that branch of science known as biochemistry, nutritionists were concerned only with proteins, fats and carbohydrates because the key role of vitamins and minerals, particularly the so-called trace elements in the digestion, assimilation and utilization of fats, proteins and carbohydrates had not yet become known. (1)

When vitamins were first discovered less than 30 years ago, and a few things became known about the identity of some of these vital factors in foodstuffs and the functions they performed in metabolism, it was believed they were few in number and that they were simple chemical substances, the lack of which in the diet, produced specific diseases. For example, when vitamin B1 was isolated and animal experiments demonstrated that a deficiency of this single factor produced polyneuritis in birds, the first assumption of doctors and nutritionists was that by isolating and concentrating this particular vitamin and administering small amounts of it to patients afflicted with polyneuritis, the disease could be conquered. This line of reasoning lead to elaborate research to isolate and reproduce synthetically, this and other single vitamin factors. (2)

The result of these preliminary discoveries lead the profession, for a time, to pin all of its hopes for combating the group of diseases known to result from deficiencies of single vitamin factors, on the synthetization of these few known vitamins to provide specific tools for combating the particular deficiency diseases. In the meantime, however, as research progressed along biochemical lines, it became increasingly evident that not only are vitamins complex substances as they occur in natural foods, but furthermore, that their assimilation and utilization, as well as their physiological functions, were intricately interrelated. (3) Furthermore, it became increasingly evident that instead of a few single vitamin factors, such as A, B, C and D, they consisted of a great multitude of different fractions, the identification and physiological knowledge of which is still a vast unfinished business. For example, it is known today that the B complex consists of 10 or 12 established vitamins and many others are still unknown. It is established today that natural vitamin D as it occurs in animal tissues, particularly fish livers, is a complex substance consisting of not one, but at least 12 different D vitamins, some of them at least, having different biochemical effects. (4)

Another example of this complexity in natural vitamins is seen in the case of vitamin E which at one stage in the unfolding knowledge of the subject, was believed to be a single factor in wheat germ oil designated by chemists as alpha-tocopherol, whereas it is now known that wheat germ oil contains delta and gamma tocopherols and also, as many nutritionists now suspect, still other fractions, the nature and functions of which have not been fully determined. (5)

Another bit of knowledge revealed by the continuing research of biochemistry is that before some of the vitamins at least can be utilized in physiological processes, they must combine with certain minerals, particularly the trace elements, and with fractions of proteins called amino acids, (3) although here again our knowledge is still far from complete, so much so that even today the authorities have definitely established essentially in human nutrition for only a few of the complex vitamin factors, while in the mineral field only four have been positively classified as to human daily requirements, namely, calcium, phosphorus, iron and iodine.

In spite of the fact that the science of biochemistry is still regarded by nutritional authorities as being in its infancy, it would require volumes to record all that is now known about the interdependence and interrelationship of the various vitamin complexes and the trace elements normally found in the mineral part of constituents of the foods containing the proteins, fats and carbohyrates which are daily consumed by every human being. A single example, however, may suffice to indicate to the thinking mind, the nature and complexity of this interrelationship and to point up the obvious fact that there is still a great deal to learn about the human need for the natural vitamin complexes, and the many trace elements naturally present in foods.

The science of biochemistry now teaches that in the conversion of starches to sugars with the ultimate production of energy for the body, a vast chain of chemical reactions occur in which certain enzymes play an essential part. This science has further traced the formation of these enzymes from intermediate chemical compounds called co-enzymes, which in turn, are known to be built up from the combining of vitamins, minerals and proteins. In the formation of these enzymes and co-enzymes, certain of the B complex factors, such as vitamin B1, B2 and niacin and certain minerals such as phosphorus, magnesium and manganese, are known to be essential. If one of these factors is missing by reason of dietary deficiency, the enzymes cannot form and the conversion of starch to sugar halts at an intermediate stage with the formation of pyruvic acid and other toxic chemicals (4)

It is true that synthetic vitamin B1 or thiamin hydrochloride is identical in physiological activity, with natural vitamin B1, but as it is produced in the laboratory, it is not surrounded with all the other factors of the natural B complex, which apparently must be associated in at least some of its biological functions. Furthermore, it is in a chemical form that is extremely water soluble and subject to rapid oxidation and destruction. On the other hand, the natural vitamin B1 as it occurs in foods and in concentrated food substances, such as yeast and liver, is largely in bound form and presumably to some extent at least, in the form

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of carboxylase or the co-enzyme. Also as it occurs in these foods it is associated, not only with the other members of the B complex family, but with the trace mineral elements, such as magnesium and manganese, to mention only two which may be involved in its utilization, and with still other unknown substances which may act as protective factors or natural antioxidants to prevent or retard its conversation to biologically inactive forms. (3)

In the field of mineral metabolism, the question of whether organic or inorganic minerals are the more valuable from the standpoint of assimilation and utilization, is still a controversial one. Recent animal experiments with some of the more common and established essential minerals, such as calcium, phosphorus and iron, indicate that in a deficiency the body is able to at least some extent, assimilate and utilize inorganic materials. (3) On the other hand, students of colloidal chemistry, which is presumably the form in which minerals are present in natural foods, incline strongly to the belief that organic minerals are more physiologically acceptable. (6) Over and above this there is still so much to be learned about mineral biochemistry, and particularly as it relates to the so-called trace elements, that it will probably be years before the proposition can be stated one way or another with certainty, because even after the physiological functions of all of the known minerals have been established, there will still be a great deal remaining to be learned about the biochemical processes by which the body assimilates and utilizes the mineral elements which it requires. (7)

Until much more is known about the whole subject of nutrition, including the nature and function of all factors, both known and at present unknown, of the vitamin complexes and mineral components of natural foods, as well as the interrelationships and requirements, it seems most logical for the clinician to depend wherever possible, on natural foods or natural concentrates in his efforts to overcome possible deficiencies existing in the diets of his patients because, knowing that nature is never wasteful, it seems logical to attribute some nutritional importance, either from a standpoint of meeting requirements or of assisting in the assimilation and utilization of required factors, to each of the known and unknown components of foods, and the fact remains that never in any item of food used by man or animals, is there ever a *single* vitamin or mineral factor to be found. (3)

The latest literature on nutrition is replete with reports of protracted research on the use of single synthetic factors, the results of which tend to cast doubt on the earlier claims of specificity which were advanced for them. These include an extensive bibliography of articles confirming the failure in animal experiments to duplicate with synthetic tocopherols, the earlier results obtained by researchers with the use of natural wheat germ oil. (5)

They also include numerous reports similar to a recent one by Drs. Walter B. Fromeyer and Tom D. Spies, who are associated with the University of Cincinnati's studies in nutrition at the Hillman Hospital in Birmingham, Alabama, which appeared recently in the American Journal of Medical Science. These doctors were pioneers in clinical experiments to confirm the earlier claims advanced for synthetic folic acid as a specific anti-anemia vitamin. In their latest report, these scientists advanced the opinion that the active principal in liver extract which combats or prevents pernicious anemia, is probably not folic acid but a very powerful, unknown factor of the natural vitamin B complex. (8).

The great advances of recent years in synthetization in the chemical laboratories now makes it possible to combine practically all of the known vitamins and at least some of the mineral factors concerned in human metabolism into attractively labeled and inexpensive formulas. But only to the extent that they incorporate the unknown factors of nutrition and the related known and unknown factors of the various vitamin complexes, will they approach a duplication of the natural material which nature intended man to use as his daily nourishment and at least until research sheds further light on the many remaining mysteries of biochemical processes, wisdom and logic seem to dictate reliance wherever possible, upon natural sources of vitamins and minerals.

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# NEWS OF THE WEEK

## Government Adopts New Strategy; West Assumes Offensive

THE rapid developments in the war situation seem to indicate that the Communists are stepping up their long-heralded "spring offensive" on all fronts, with particular emphasis on North China.

In Manchuria, the Nationalists are reported to have blasted open an overland communication line between Chinchow and Mukden, while the Communists are massing strong units for the forthcoming battle of Changchun, the only Government bastion north of Mukden.

The situation in Loyang, western Honan, is quite confused. The Communists claimed to have captured the city, but the Government insisted that the city has never been lost and the Communist attackers had been repulsed with heavy losses.

The flare-up of bloody fighting in the Chahar-Shansi border area has aroused much concern. It is reported that five Communist divisions totaling 60,000 troops under the command of General Nieh Yung-cheng are launching destructive attacks against the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway in an attempt to open an overland corridor linking up Shensi, Shansi, Suiyuan, Chahar, Jehol with Manchuria. The Nationalists admitted their evacuation of Yangkao, Chulopao and Lowensho and fierce fighting is still in progress on the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, with the Communists apparently making attempts to capture Tatung and Kalgan. In announcing the new Communist offensive, General Fu Tso-yi's headquarters in Peiping described it as an "all-out" effort to standstill the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway.

### Fresh Attacks

In Shantung, the Reds made fresh attacks in the central and western parts of the province and at one time the provincial capital—Tsinan—was in grave danger. Another Communist column under the command of General Chen Yi is reported to be heading toward Taian, presenting a serious threat to the southern section of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway.

The Communists also made further headway in their drive in North Kiangsu with the capture of Yiling and Powning, 120 and 135 miles, respectively, northeast of Nanking. A small band of daring Red raiders is reported to have managed to infiltrate into the Government base at Kiangyin.

* * *

ADDRESSING the pacification conference for Central China, President Chiang Kai-shek stressed that "the military situation in Central China has reached the hour of decision in our effort to put down the rebellion" and that "unless an all-out effort is made to turn the tide of war, central China, the last reservoir of Kuomintang power, faces a complete collapse."

According to press reports, President Chiang has mapped out a new "total war" strategy against the Communists, which is characterized by the complete coordination of political, military and economic resources and efforts to enlist the people's support by implementing Sun Yat-sen's "land-to-the-tillers" rural reform program. The new strategy, based on the broad principle of "fighting the Communists with their own tactics," will be tried out first in central China. It is considered by neutral observers in Nanking as the first concrete recognition of the failure of the Government's past strategy of regular warfare, and the admission of its mistake in neglecting the importance of popular support.

* * *

### National Assembly

IN spite of serious difficulties, the Chinese Government has decided to convene the National Assembly on March 29, as originally planned. However, with the date only a few days off, the question of allocation of seats among the various parties has not yet been settled.

In defiance of strict orders from the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the freely-elected delegates refused to surrender their seats to unsuccessful candidates of the minority parties, which threatened to boycott the National Assembly unless the leadership of the Kuomintang fulfilled its pledged word to give them the promised number of seats. It remains to be seen how the matter can be straightened out without violating the Constitution and at the same time making all the persons concerned feel happy.

The principal job of the forthcoming National Assembly is the election of the President and the Vice President of the Chinese Republic. It is a foregone conclusion that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek will be elected the first President under China's constitutional government. In regard to the vice presidency, General Li Tsung-jen, General Cheng Chien and President Yu Yu-jen of the Control Yuan have already announced their intentions to run. Although Sun Fo himself told the press that he has not yet made up his mind, his followers made no secret of the fact that he is willing to run and he wants to retain his present job as President of the Legislative Yuan, following the example of the vice president of the United States who is concurrently the presiding officer of the Senate.

Just like the elections of the National Assembly and of the Legislative Yuan, the impending election of the president and the vice president has aroused very little popular enthusiasm. It seems that the man in the street is more concerned with the fighting and the soaring commodity prices and the Government officials are more interested in American politics and particularly American aid to China.

In a bellicose speech before an extraordinary joint session of Congress, President Truman called attention to the present critical world situation and urged Congress to revive the draft law temporarily, to enact universal military training and to speed the passage of the Marshall Plan. Disregarding usual diplomatic niceties, the President blamed Soviet Russia directly and by name. "Since the close of hostilities, Soviet Russia and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in Eastern and Central Europe. It is this ruthless course of action and the clear design to extend it to the remaining free nations of Europe that has brought about the critical situation in Europe today."

### Truman Speaks Out

Pledging the full support of the United States for the Western European Union, President Truman stressed: "I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to do so."

The President's speech was hailed by Western Europe as a new Monroe Doctrine which will put teeth into the European recovery program. British Government officials indicated they were not disappointed with the speech. Most saw it as ushering in a new United States era by cutting a final link with America's traditional prewar isolationism. British authoritative sources and the press said Truman put the cards where all could see but they took sober note of increasing war talk.

French government leaders were reported to be "tremendously im-

pressed" by Truman's speech. While a strong statement had been expected, the concrete proposals made and the unequivocal warning given to Russia surpassed expectations. Truman's backing of the five-power pact was regarded as giving the pact its full meaning by guaranteeing American military intervention on the side of the Western European Powers should they be called upon to defend themselves in circumstances foreseen in the pact.

While the Chinese press regretted that Truman did not have a single word to say in his speech about China, Chinese Government leaders were of the opinion that stiffening United States opposition to Soviet expansion inevitably would help the National Government in its fight against the Communists "even if the State Department still tries to keep the two problems separate." It is stressed that the United States Government has obviously reached a "decisive turning point in its policy toward Russia" and this change is bound to affect United States policy toward China.

* * *

## War Hysteria

COMMENTING on President Truman's speech, Henry A. Wallace said that the doctrine of stopping Communism has presently expanded to a point where it threatens the life of every human being in the world. He said that there was not a single valid reason why the United States should fight Russia.

Wallace charged "wilful men with private interests" with trafficing in the word Communism in a deliberate attempt to "blot out reason," restore selective service and provoke a third world war. He added; "Nothing could be settled by name-calling.... I do not want to see billions of American dollars—and what is far more important, millions of American lives—wasted because some American politicians will not accept these simple facts."

In a strongly-worded statement, the New York State chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America described President Truman's speech as "disgraceful demagogy, meant to crush the world's hope for peace. It is designed to panic the people into acceptance of the police state which bipartisan policy makers are invoking to speed up war. The crisis actually did not occur abroad but here, within our own capital. It is the failure of both parties to provide a leadership based upon a democratic peace policy, which the people themselves so desperately desire. But the Washington warmakers will not succeed. Truman's speech will rally countless new supporters to Wallace's program, each of whom will resist moving one more inch toward war...."

* * *

## Five-Power Fact

ON March 17, a 50-year treaty of military aid and economic cooperation was signed at Brussels by France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Thus, the long-rumored Western European Union finally became a fact. In addition to economic, social and cultural clauses, the treaty contains clauses relating to mutual military assistance within the framework of the United Nations Charter. Belgium Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak stressed that the five nations are bound under the solemn treaty to protect the civilization of Western Europe from future peril."

British Prime Minister Clement Attlee explained that the pact is directed against none. "It is not an alliance based on self-interest and fear. It is rather an association of like-minded neighbors who are engaged jointly in shaping their way toward some closer social and indeed spiritual integration—to base themselves on the essential similarity of their civilizations and solemnly pledge on paper their common obligations and their common intentions alike."

Highly informed sources in Paris predicted that the United States may sign a limited military agreement with the five nations of the Brussels pact. It is expected that this will happen within three months, as part of President Truman's foreign policy.

The Soviet weekly *New Times* branded the Anglo-American Western Union plan as "a plot against peace. "It is a plot against the vital interests of the peoples of the continent and of the whole world.... It is a plan for the political splitting of Europe, nourished by blind forces hating democracy and social justice."

With the steady deterioration in the relations between the West and the East, the West Bloc seems to be stealing a march on the East.

* * *

## West Offensive

THE Paris conference of the Marshall Plan countries voted unanimously to include Western Germany in the scope of the Marshall Plan. Portugal proposed that Franco's Fascist Spain be included, arguing that Spain has made a great contribution to "European culture" and that "it is not easy to understand how it would be possible to keep a country like Spain for a long time outside our deliberations.

Overriding strong Soviet objections that no one has the right to intervene in the political affairs of other states, the United Nations Security Council voted March 17, to discuss the situation in Czechoslovakia and to invite the Chilean representative who introduced the motion with charges that Russia has undermined the Czechoslovak Republic to make a speech.

As an important means of outmaneuvering the Kremlin and helping the Italian Government to win the general elections scheduled for April 18, the United States, Britain and France jointly proposed to return Trieste to Italy. Earlier, on March 19, Secretary of State Marshall openly warned Italy that she would forfeit benefit from the European recovery program if she voted Communist in the forthcoming elections, which in the opinion of political observers, will determine whether the Italians look westward to the United States or eastward to Soviet Russia.

Top Christian Democrat leaders of Italy appealed on March 16, to President Truman for assurance that the United States will guarantee Italy against any illegal Communist attempt to seize power. The leaders charged that Italy's wealthy industrialists are hedging against a possible Communist victory by contributing money to the Communists. If the industrialists are assured that the United States will halt any Communist coup they would donate their offerings to non-Communist parties.

* * *

## East's Reply

But Soviet Russia is not going to take the diplomatic offensive of the West lying down. Russia has withdrawn from the Allied Control in Berlin and all meetings of the Council are indefinitely postponed.

Leading American officials in Berlin interpreted Russia's withdrawal as either an attempt to frighten the British and Americans from bringing the French into Bizonia or as a prelude to Russia's establishing a separate Eastern German State.

A highly placed American official said that he did not believe the Russians were ready for a final break and he believed it was a "preventive measure" to halt steps the Western Powers might be planning to take.

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia filed a vigorous protest to the United States, Britain and France and accused them of playing politics with the free territory.

"CIVILIZATION"

Shoemaker in The Chicago Daily News

# What US Papers Say

THE pros and cons of American aid to China are still being discussed at length in many US papers. President Truman's recent strong stand against Communism inspired some papers to demand a clarification and reevaluation of US policy in relation to China. The fate of Palestine was also a subject of editorial comment, as was the situation existing in Korea.

* * *

## China Aid

COMMENTING on a recent press conference in which President Truman discussed the Chinese situation, the *Detroit News* said: "No compromise with Communism anywhere in the world! That—in a brief policy assertion made by President Truman for application to China—undoubtedly is overwhelmingly endorsed by the American people. Mr. Truman is late in making the sweeping assertion. His stand is attributable to Republican insistence in Congress that helping China to maintain a non-Communist government be added to the European Recovery Plan. But a forthright declaration of policy by the President of the US results. The force is the greater because the Republicans helped to bring it about."

The *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*, in an editorial criticizing the confusion which has been evident in the US policy toward China, declared: "Either President Truman has reversed American policy on China or the people of this country have long been permitted to labor under an erroneous impression which neither the White House nor the State Department sought to correct . . .

"The confusion arises, of course, because there are so many conflicting policies. The President's policy, as of now at least, appears to be to help Chiang's Nationalist Government put down the Communists, although the Administration's US $570,000,000 economic aid bill alone would hardly suffice for that purpose. The State Department, trying desperately to make its policy conform to Mr. Truman's latest statement, still manages to leave the door open to possible support of a Chinese Government including the Communists. Whether or not the Reds should be included is a matter for the Chinese Government to decide, says Secretary Marshall . . .

"In this hodgepodge of notions and misinterpretations, it is only natural to find their country's China policy bogged down in confusion. Until the Administration has outlined a policy understood and accepted by at least its own top brass, Congress should proceed cautiously with aid for China."

The *Wall Street Journal* (New York) joins in the cry for unanimity in US-China policy, and says: "It is impossible for Congress to act intelligently on the aid-to-China proposal without first obtaining from the President and the State Department as comprehensive a statement of their Chinese policy as they can prepare."

* * *

## Korea

THE *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal*, commenting on the situation in Korea, said recently: "Here is a clear case of Soviet obstruction of democracy. The UN Korean Commission was prepared to supervise the election of a national assembly by the whole nation. The US agreed. The Soviet Union has refused even to admit the commission to North Korea. Obviously, there can be no actual 'national' election limited to half the country. Yet if there is no start toward the formation of a Korean government, the prospect of occupation is endless. Therefore, the US and the UN commission propose that the South Koreans hold an election on May 9 as the first step toward setting up a government of their own.

"Communication of North Korea has proceeded in the usual pattern. Withdrawal of the US troops from South Korea would leave the whole nation defenseless against Communist conquest. Instead of withdrawing, the US will support a native government to grow out of the UN-supervised elections. But the ultimate fate of Korea remains obscure. It is like a bit of a jig-saw puzzle picture which must remain blank until the future drops all other pieces into place."

* * *

## Palestine

LINKING the Palestine situation with US political considerations, an editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* stated: "Washington is split on the issue. The White House is on one side, and the Pentagon (Army) on the other. Political considerations were among the factors which caused President Truman to favor partition. Now that three Republican presidential hopefuls also have taken pro-partition positions, he can hardly be inclined toward a change of front.

"Defense Secretary Forrestal, on the other hand, would like to see the US back down. He argues that partition would enrage the Arabs to the point of endangering American access to Middle Eastern oil. Sumner Welles and others feel that there is no genuine ground for this fear . . . With Washington so divided, the American policy in the UN has degenerated into one of silence.

"The British, for their part, talk much of bloodshed and Communism. They refuse to admit the UN commission to Palestine on the ground that they may not be able to protect its members against assassination. At the same time, and despite the fact that the United States has embargoed shipment of arms to Jews they close their eyes to the assembling of Arab armies. They plant the story that Communists have infiltrated the various Jewish organizations, and that a Red front probably will be formed as soon as British troops are withdrawn. And, of course, they are just as much concerned about Middle Eastern oil as is the United States.

". . . In the absence of big power leadership, as Mr. Welles points out, the smaller nations are becoming more and more reluctant to assume responsibility. Can the Security Council form an international "foreign legion" in the nick of time? Will Jewish and Arab militias, designed to keep order, be armed soon enough? Or will Palestine slide into a bloody shambles?"

"If that happens, will not the Russians have the best possible excuse for intervening? And if they insist on doing so, will not the US be forced to take a hand? Will not Britain be forced to order its troops about-face? Will not Palestine then be sorely divided—even as Germany is divided today, or Korea? And what will be left of UN effectiveness?

"Where is statesmanship in all that?"

* * *

## US-Russia Policy

COMMENTING on past American policy in relation to Truman's recent sweeping denouncement of Communism, the *Cleveland* (Ohio) *Plain Dealer* observed: "The President said the United States does not want Communist governments anywhere in the world . . . There is a big difference between the President's press conference statement and official Government policy.

"We have made it clear from time to time that we have no desire to interfere in the internal political affairs of other nations and particularly that we have no objection to Soviet Russia's form of government if that is what the Russian people want. What we have objected to is the use of force and threats by Russia to compel other governments to accept Communist domination.

"Now by stating that the US is opposed to Communist governments everywhere in the world, President Truman has put this country in the position of waging the same kind of ideological crusade against Communism which the Soviet Union is waging against capitalism. . ."

# What Chinese Papers Say

THE Chinese press last week hailed President Truman's speech, discussed the role of liberals in Chinese politics and warned against Japanese political intrigue.

* * *

## Truman's Speech

WELCOMING President Truman's speech before a joint session of the Senate and the House as the most important historic speech he has made since the end of World War II, the *Shun Pao* stressed that the speech was highly significant because it was prepared by the President in consultation with political, military, diplomatic and economic experts.

"Truman's speech convinces us that US economic aid to Europe will gradually be changed into military aid. In this way, the European situation will be gradually clarified." But the President's speech has not succeeded in making people feel safe, the paper said. The reasons are two in number. Although the Western European Union has become a reality, there are still many difficulties ahead and one cannot be very optimistic about it. A second reason is that the President seemed to pay very little attention to the situation in Asia.

The *Sin Wen Pao* also deplored the fact that President Truman did not say a single word in his speech about China.

"Having read the text of President Truman's speech, we naturally admire the American authorities for their determination and courage. However, a careful study of the speech will show that while the President severely condemned the spread of Communist influence which is threatening international peace, he did not have a single word to say about China. With regard to his recommendations, he only urged Congress to take prompt action on the European Recovery Program and made no mention whatever of aid for China. It looks as though the price for peace which the United States is prepared to pay is applicable to Europe only and that Asia is not included in the planning. At least the American Government authorities are of the opinion that the situation in Asia is not so urgent as that in Europe. This view is all the more apparent if we study the comment on Marshall's attitude by authoritative quarters in Washington.

"We feel that the United States' attitude toward Asia, especially toward China, has been a wrong and confused one. The world situation has now developed to a stage where it is idle to talk about peace unless the talk is backed by force."

The *Chung Hwa Shih Pao* stressed that Truman's speech has clarified the present confused world situation. "Today the United States and the nations in Western Europe are ready to stop by action the expansion of the influence of Communist dictatorship and will resort to force, if necessary. Such a firm attitude may make the Reds who are bent on aggression back down temporarily.

"However, we must tell our fellow countrymen that the new forces of Communist aggression certainly will not stop their expansionist activities. It is quite possible that having met with resistance in Western Europe, they will turn their eyes elsewhere, most probably toward the Near East and the Far East. This is a possibility that deserves our special attention."

The *Chien Hsin Jih Pao* regarded Truman's speech as indicating that the United States has now abandoned the Roosevelt policy of world cooperation, but explained that there were valid reasons for this change.

"It is true that the Roosevelt policy has been thrown overboard by the United States. Much as we regret this action, we must take into consideration two decisive factors, time and circumstances.

"Soviet Russia now controls nearly half of the world and the United States controls the other half. At this time when the conflict between the powers is being intensified, the destinies of the small nations are in the balance . . . If the United States continues to consider Europe more important than the Far East then it will be difficult to tell who after all will lead the world."

* * *

## Liberals

THE *Tung Nan Jih Pao* made a strong appeal to China's liberal elements to back the Government in the present crisis. "The discussion on liberalism in the Chinese press has not yet come to an end and the statement on China issued by the United States Government once more emphasized the necessity for broadening the base of the Chinese Government by including the liberal elements. The Chinese liberals are respected at home and friendly nations, particularly the United States, also hold them in high esteem. We feel that the time has come when the Chinese liberals should play their part instead of looking on as spectators.

"The world situation has become very tense, because Soviet Russia and her Communist satellites have taken the place of Fascists and Nazis, threatened democracy and peaceful life all over the world.

"The liberals should have the spirit of martyrdom. They should give up all thought of compromise and fence-riding. Instead, they should do their bit by deeds as well as by words to help the Government stamp out the Communist rebellion and push ahead with national reconstruction.

"The fact that all the political measures are unsatisfactory has aroused considerable dissatisfaction among the liberals. But the Government is not blind to this, either. The Government authorities are anxious to institute reform. It is our opinion that from now on the Government should continue to broaden its base by including as many liberals as possible. On their part China's liberal elements should understand the difficulties with which the Chinese Government is being faced and should correct their attitude toward the Government. Moreover, they should cooperate with the Government in the fight for freedom and democracy."

* * *

## Japan

"WITH the formation of the Ashida Cabinet on March 9, the political crisis in Japan has temporarily come to an end," the *Chien Hsin Jih Pao* wrote. " The United States has been trying all the time to hold a peace conference for Japan as early as possible. Although the Ashida Cabinet may not be able to last long enough to witness the peace conference, it will have quite a lot to do with the preparations for this conference. Viewing Japanese politics through the angle of what has happened in connection with the establishment of the Ashida Cabinet, we are inclined to be very skeptical about the situation in the Far East and feel pretty much worried about China's plight.

"It is common knowledge that the Japanese politicians are dong their best to win the sympathy of General Douglas MacArthur under the cloak of fighting for Japan's postwar economic reconstruction. They are seeking a political way out by fawning upon the SCAP commander. However, there is a hidden danger of a revival of fascism in Japan.

"The nations represented on the Far Eastern Commission have been paying the closest attention to the United States policy of building up Japan. This fact is a blow to Ashida as he assumed office as premier of Japan. It is to be hoped that Japan will wake up to the realities of a changed world. It is earnestly hoped that the United States will do well not to ignore the facts we have enumerated in the above.

"The present world situation is extremely delicate. Any faux pas in Japan might have catastrophic consequences. Under existing circumstances, it is better to think twice before taking action."

# The Review's English Lesson—XXIV

**Idioms, Illustrative Paragraph and Answers to Mr. K. B. Yu**

## IDIOMS AND SLANG EXPRESSIONS:

**seedy**—worn out, shabby or wretched looking. Probably derives from the idea that when a fruit or plant goes to seed it is worn out and has lost its beauty.

"A group of **seedy** adventurers enlisted as volunteers."

**a gift horse**—a gift of doubtful value. Comes from the expression, "Never look **a gift horse** in the mouth," i.e., don't attempt to find out the value or background of something that is given to you, or you may be disappointed.

"A New Year's **gift horse** like the General Electric Company's voluntary price-cuts should not have its mouth too closely examined, because it would be found that the company's old prices were higher than those of competitive firms."

**fence-mending**—reinforcing or strengthening one's position. When a farmer mends the fences around his land, he strengthens them to prevent his animals from leaving their pastures. It is used most commonly as a political term.

"The senator returned to his home state to convince the voters of his fine record and do a little **fence-mending**."

**balance-of-payment**—the state of equality or inequality in the outpayment-inpayment accounts between a nation and one or more additional nations. For example, the United States has a favorable **balance-of-payment** because its citizens hold more foreign currency or foreign currency obligations than foreigners hold US currency or US currency obligations.

**to pass the hat**—to solicit money from a group of people. Literally means to pass around a hat with its open end up so that people can drop in money.

"In some organizations it is the custom to **pass the hat** to care for the widow and children of a member who has died."

**high-pressure tactics** — urgent or pressing methods used to sell something or to accomplish an end.

"Unscrupulous insurance men in the past have often employed **high-pressure tactics** to make people buy and keep up expensive policies."

**concerted action**—coordinated or cooperative action.

Not to be confused with the musical term, concert, which means a musical performance by several voices or instruments. Accent the second syllable: con **cert** ed. "By **concerted action**, the merchants and other townspeople are making over their communities."

## ILLUSTRATIVE PARAGRAPH:

The following paragraph contains a number of slang and idiomatic expressions. Translate the paragraph into simple English by substituting your definitions of the words and phrases in bold face. Then mail us your translation, and in two weeks we will print the best letter that we receive—that is, the one which shows the writer has the best understanding of these terms.

Republican leaders are not agreed on how to draw **the maximum profits** from Henry Wallace's **call to arms**. **On the face of it,** the decision **to launch** a third party was a gift direct from Wallace to **the G.O.P.** But how **G.O.P.** Chairman Carroll Reece convinces voters that the Administration has been too "**soft**" towards Russia is the extent to which he **undoes** Wallace's contribution to the Republicans. Mr. Reece is saying simply that Wallace is wrong **in wrapping both parties up in a single bundle of hostility** toward the Soviet Union. He means that only the Republicans are hostile. The effect of this **strategy** would be to weaken the third party rather than the Democrats, since Wallace's whole movement depends on drawing pro-Russian and **"peace"** votes away from Truman. Wallace's move should cause the nomination of Taft by the Republicans, and **the Ohioan's stock has gone up.**

## ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM YU KAI-BONG:

**Inter alia**—among other things.

**The Mid-30's**—the Middle Thirties, i.e., 1934-1936.

**One-time**—formerly or for a time in the past.

**Yessmen**—was misspelled in the *Review* and should be spelled **yes-men**. Yes-men are people who always agree on anything with anyone.

**And/or**—literally means "and" or "or." The separating line is used so that the second "or" can be omitted.

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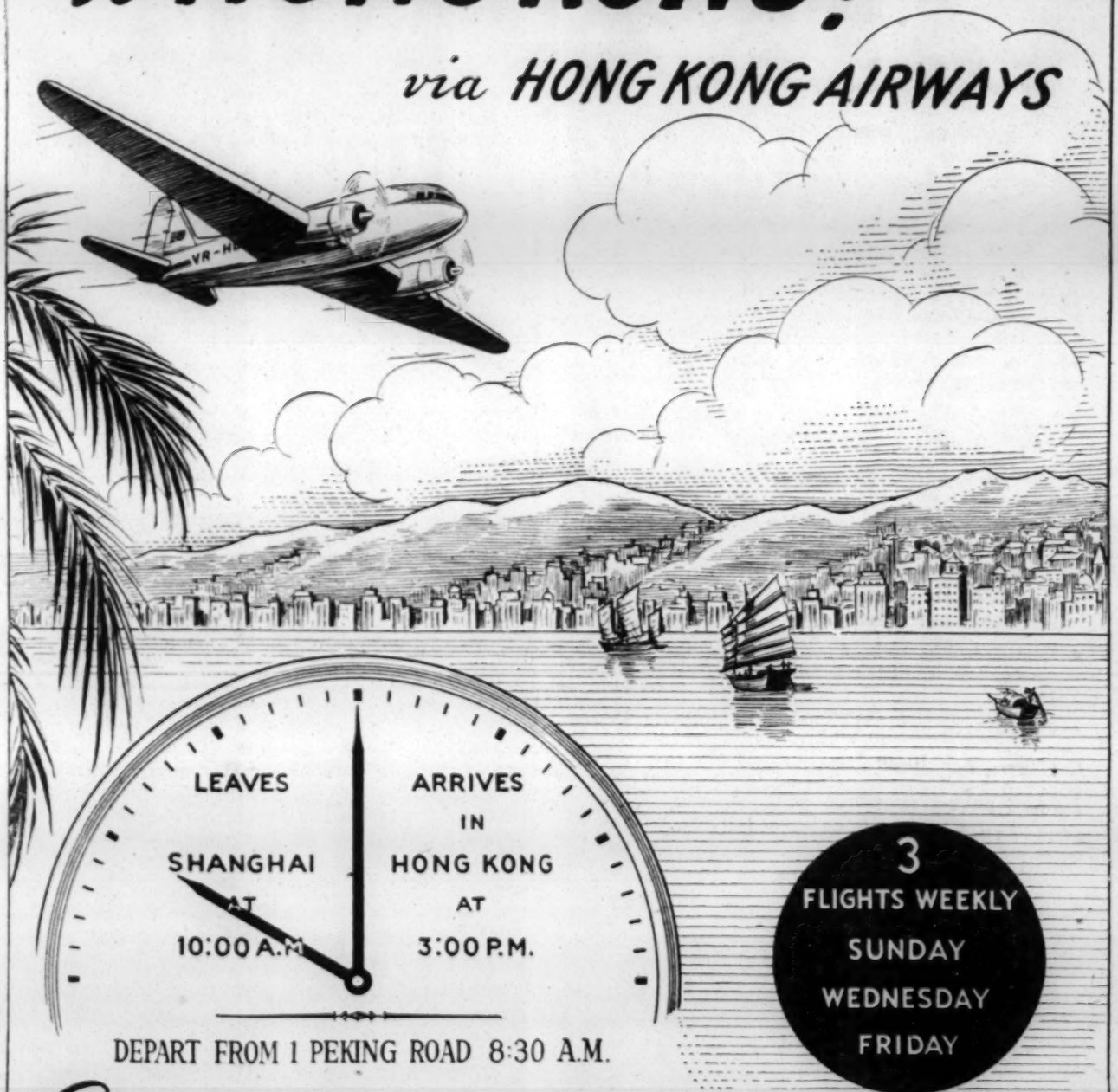


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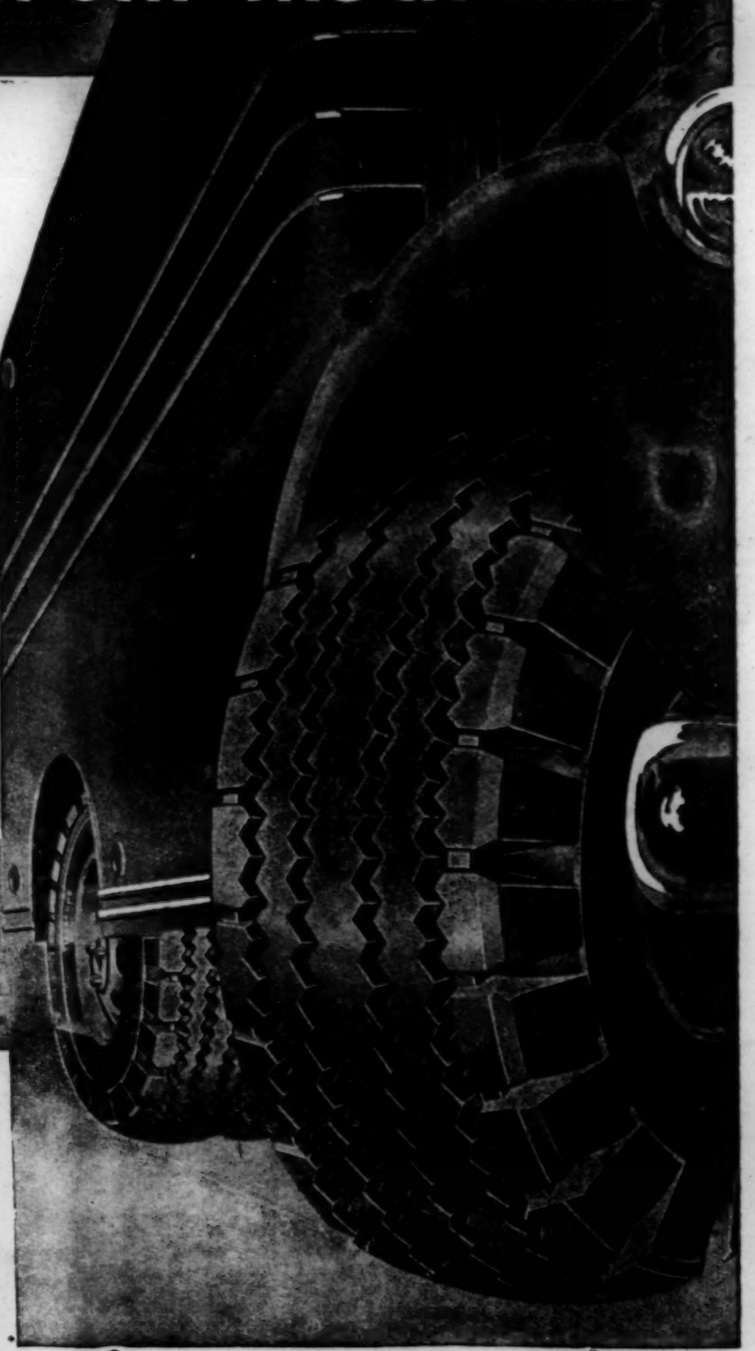

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